

Africa Digest

SEPTEMBER–OCTOBER 1956

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AFRICA



DIGEST

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EAST AFRICA

Royal Commission Report—Governors' Comments

DISPATCHES¹ from the Governors of Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika and the Administrator, East Africa High Commission, on the East Africa Royal Commission 1953-55 Report, together with a Colonial Office commentary,² were published in July, 1956.

The Colonial Office commentary pointed out that there is a wide measure of acceptance both of the Royal Commission's diagnosis of the problems to be solved and of the solutions proposed. Although in some cases such agreement may be qualified as regards the pace of change which is desirable and possible or as regards the nature of the instruments to be used to secure it, the direction of movement is generally accepted and the objectives have been defined with a new clarity and certainty . . .

All the Governments agree with the emphasis which the Commission has placed on the need for a guided revolution in African agricultural methods based on a departure from subsistence farming and the entry of the African cultivator into a modern exchange economy. So that the best use may be made of the available land, the Governments accept the need to encourage the evolution of systems of individual tenure and the encouragement of an attitude to land ownership which recognizes its value as a negotiable asset.

The Kenya dispatch dealt fully with the question of transfer of land between the races and pointed out that in the Native Land Units, the question of transferability of land would only arise when a system of individual title has been evolved and introduced. The Government's tentative view, subject to further consideration, is that should transferability between Africans and non-Africans be permitted, it should be limited to leases, the reversion remaining with the African title-holder, and that such leases should be subject to the Governor's consent, granted or refused after consulting, and obtaining the advice of, the Native Lands Trust Board. The whole concept of individual title is, however, new to African thought, and it is not yet possible to assess African opinion on the subject of transferability, even between tribes, let alone between Africans and non-Africans.

Should transferability between Africans and non-Africans of land in African areas develop, the Government contemplates

that, to such extent (e.g. leases) as it is made permissible, the procedure should be comparable to that in European areas, i.e. subject to the consent of the Governor after consulting the Native Lands Trust Board, each case being judged on its own merits (and local views being consulted through Local Land Boards, though the latter have no counterpart in the European areas).

The views of the Commission on the marketing and distribution system have evoked a strong reaction from the Governments. The Commission criticized what they described as the "obsolete conception of self-sufficiency" which appeared to them to inspire the policies of the East African Governments.

The Kenya Government explained that the present low level of the output makes it necessary in particular instances to afford some measure of protection to domestic producers against competition from abroad; but as the economy expands, domestic producers would be more able to stand on their own feet and protective measures would become less necessary.

In conclusion, the Colonial Office commentary drew attention to the financial aspect of the recommendations. The dispatches bring out forcibly the hard fact that much which admittedly should be done requires the application of finance on a scale far beyond the present resources and prudent expectations of the Governments and the High Commission.

The Government of Tanganyika, for example, has shown the sort of capital development programme which they would be capable of implementing, in terms of organization, materials and manpower, both over the five years 1955-60 covered by present development plan and over the ten years ending in 1965, were finance of the order of £16 million over the five years and £48 million over the ten years available, on reasonable terms, in addition to the substantial sums which in current conditions they feel justified in expecting to assemble. Similar statements on their capital needs are made by the other Governments and by the High Commission services.

In round terms over the present planning period 1955-60 a sum in the region of £250 million could be fruitfully applied to development or in support of developments recommended by the Royal Commission and accepted by the Governments as desirable. This would involve the provision of external funds at an annual rate considerably in excess of that at which external loan funds and C.D. & W. contributions have recently been available to meet East African requirements. This illustrates the magnitude of the task involved in bridging the gap between what is apparently practicable, in terms of past experience, and what it would be desirable to attempt were outside capital available to match the needs and opportunities described by the East African Governments.

¹Cmd. 9801, H.M.S.O. price 7s.

²Cmd. 9804, H.M.S.O. price 6d.

Kenya

Africa Bureau Statement of Policy

Introduction

WITH the approaching end of the Mau Mau insurrection, Kenya should be looking forward to a period of tranquillity, reconstruction and reconciliation. But although the colony has painfully won a respite from civil war, its future remains unsettled.

As a long-term view, it is thoroughly unrealistic to suppose that Kenya's 5 million Africans will not proportionately exercise a greater political influence on the life of the country than the 45,000 Europeans or 150,000 Asians. It is not necessary to argue when that time will come; whether sooner or later will depend on the effectiveness of the policies devised to steer Kenya through its transitional stage. An unrealistic short-term policy may seek to delay its coming for too long in which event the transitional period will be painful and disruptive instead of peaceful and harmonious.

Kenya cannot be kept out of the main stream of contemporary political development and treated as if it were unique. Across its borders in Uganda, the establishment of a state which will be primarily African is the accepted aim. It is no different from India, Indonesia, the Sudan or Malaya. Its future development must be seen to be the same as that of any other country. It is unrealistic therefore to imagine a future in which Africans will not want to run this region very largely for themselves, invoking the aid of others where they have not yet got the skill or capital to do things for themselves. This, of course, means the utmost co-operation between Africans, Europeans and Asians. But it also means that the primary aim should be to establish a country based firmly on the same democratic principles by which we live in Britain.

There are only two paths that Kenyans can choose to follow. Either Kenya can be made secure for all its racial communities, or it can be made insecure for the immigrant races. In terms of permanent residence it can never be made insecure for the Africans. Whatever the value of their ultimate society, the one certainty is that the Africans can never be pushed out of Kenya. No similar certainty exists for non-African Kenyans. It follows, therefore, that if the White and Asian Kenyans are to remain permanently in Kenya—as they have every right to expect—they must come to terms with their environment. To fly in the face of the inevitable is to court disaster.

Nonetheless, it would be foolish to ignore the dangers of precipitate self-government involving rule by inexperienced leaders. Such danger is increased by obdurate racial policies, and by irresponsible demands for premature termination of Britain's responsibility. If Kenyans, therefore, are to look forward to a secure and prosperous future, they should combine to do their utmost to give Africans opportunities for experience as rapidly as possible, and in as large numbers as possible, in the ways of democratic government, civil service, police, judiciary and technical skills. At the same time they must take care to adapt the best features of African society. Only if such a synthesis is accomplished can Kenya's future be anticipated with any sense of confidence.

Although Mau Mau has failed in its immediate aim—to drive out the Whites from Kenya—it has shown Africans how

much power lies in their hands if they decide to use it. The horrors and excesses of Mau Mau should blind nobody to the fact that its tenacious resistance has awakened a new spirit among Africans in Kenya. This new spirit is not a pride in Mau Mau, which the majority of Africans despise, but a conscious determination to achieve a new status for Africans.

It would be a mistake to suppose that there is a natural homogeneity among Africans, or that they are agreed about policy and method. But a new wave of nationalism has broken over Kenya. Though cribbed and confined by emergency regulations, this nationalist force must not be underrated. The breadth of its spread is one of the findings to which special attention was drawn in the recent Courtts Report on African representation.

Time is the crucial factor. Whatever is done must be done soon. Delay in Kenya is the ally of the forces of extremism. Hesitancy and half-measures are policies of defeat. Unless this is understood, Kenya is already lost to the rule of moderate leadership. This therefore, is a time for bold leadership; for generous conciliation; for clear-sighted policy and for urgent decision.

One of the important truths brought home by Mau Mau is the value to Kenya of the British connexion. The British contribution was an essential, perhaps the decisive, factor in the suppression of Mau Mau. Britain's responsibility must therefore continue to be exercised in the interests of all Kenyans, both as protector of those not fully represented, and as mediator.

The second evident truth is the collapse of the *status quo* in Kenya. The need for a redistribution of power has to a limited extent been acknowledged by the Lyttleton Constitution, and the acceptance of a new system of direct elections for African representatives to the Legislative Council. The abandonment of the *status quo* is, moreover, reflected in four important changes:

(i) Acceptance by the White Kenyans of the impracticability of their old policy of "settler rule"; a greater willingness to accept Imperial rule for the present; and less reluctance to accept some form of multi-racial government now, and democratic self-government in the future.

(ii) Greater recognition of the power of African Kenyans.

(iii) Recognition of the rights of Asians to be regarded as an integral part of Kenya's society.

(iv) A slow realization that no further power can be devolved from the Colonial Office, if it means transferring responsibility largely into the hands of the settler communities.

There are still however reactionary forces which refuse to accommodate themselves to these changes, and who can be relied upon to fight a vigorous rearguard action. Whether these forces are strong enough to capture control of White Kenyan leadership is still uncertain. On the other hand, there are militant Africans and Asians who believe that more radical changes must be made before Kenya can be regarded as having established a just balance between the different communities. Between these two poles stand the so-called moderates. For the immediate future, therefore, Kenya is likely to be the scene of a vigorous triangular struggle out of which will develop a new situation.

Respect for law and order has been one of the major casualties in the struggle with Mau Mau. Violence and savagery by the rebels was often countered with violence and terror by the security forces. As so often happens, the terrorists appear to

some extent to have succeeded in corrupting the weapons of their antagonists.

Law and Order

The highest standards of British justice must be restored or introduced in Kenya. In accordance with the principle of equality before the law as an integral right of citizenship, trial by jury should be introduced for all, irrespective of race. Every effort must be made to eliminate real or apparent discrimination in legal procedures on grounds of race. The police force should be independent of the administration and District Officers should no longer have magisterial powers.

With the ending of the Emergency the future of "detainees" will become of greater urgency. It is essential not only that justice should be done but that it should be apparent that it is done. It is important that official policy should neither apparently nor in fact consist of a series of belated concessions in the face of a series of public outcries or revelations.

A judicial body should be set up without further delay to work out the principles and devise judicial procedures for dealing with "detainees" and for hearing appeals more expeditiously, so that people are no longer left without hope of freedom, and so that those who are innocent are not forced to feel that they can only find favour by false confessions. Such a judicial body could form part of a commission to be sent from this country, headed by a judge or other person of outstanding capability and empowered to make the necessary diligent inquiries in Kenya, including the examination of records, and to rectify abuses and just grievances. An inquiry on this scale is desirable in order to relieve public anxiety, and restore confidence in the processes of law and order as an instrument of justice for people of all races.

A Programme for Political Action

A short-term policy should seek to create the machinery—constitutional, economic, and social—necessary to integrate all the racial communities into a single Kenyan citizenship. Each community may, if it desires, maintain its own peculiar identity. But until a single citizenship is created, all political thinking will inevitably be dominated by the race factor. Kenyan citizenship should be open to all Africans, Asians, and Europeans who have achieved a minimum residential and age qualification. Citizenship would carry with it equality of opportunity irrespective of race; the franchise; security of life and property; equal treatment in the courts of law.

Any short-term policy should aim to establish among Kenyans a sense of security and confidence about the future of their country. Such a policy must recognize the importance of the contribution that can be made by each of the communities to the general development. Recognizing the long-term aim as a democratic self-governing African state, it becomes essential, during this interim period, to safeguard the rights of the minorities. It must be recognized, however, that the attitude and behaviour of the minority groups to the African majority will inevitably constitute the best safeguard for their future security.

There can be no place for the old spirit of racial contempt in the new Kenya. While it will be necessary during the interim period to retain measures expressly designed to protect underprivileged racial groups in terms of policy, all forms of racial discrimination must cease. No special privileges must be retained for the exclusive enjoyment of one community; and no

public funds should be devoted to the provision of racially exclusive amenities. Educational facilities must be made available to all as rapidly as possible.

Immigration must be based solely on the needs of the country as a whole, and not on the exclusive interests of any single community. To ensure proper control over immigration policy, adequate representation on Immigration Boards must be afforded to all communities during the present interim period.

Constitutional Proposals

Whatever its temporary advantages, the Lyttleton constitution offers no basis for even a short term policy. Its three great weaknesses are:

- (i) that it maintains an unfair balance in the membership of the Legislative Council based on the proportion of three Europeans, two Asians, one African.
- (ii) that it gives ministerial responsibility to communally-elected Members, which is wrong in principle and bad in practice.
- (iii) that it envisages the continuation of communal representation.

An effective transitional constitution, leading progressively from the present state to a democratic self-governing state, should be designed:

- (i) To create, as the next immediate stage, legislature with parity between African and immigrant races, based on Kenyan citizenship. Although the common roll should be started without undue delay in certain urban areas, it is inevitable that communal representation should persist for some years to come.
- (ii) To transfer responsibility to only such Ministers who can exercise collective responsibility, conceded by all races, and not by one race.
- (iii) To retain Imperial control until a democratic government has been established.

How is such a constitution to be achieved, and what form should it take? There are those who argue that, for the time being, communal representation should be maintained, but that it should be extended to provide parity between Africans, Europeans and Asians. Others again argue that while communal representation should be maintained an immediate start should be made to supplement this form of representation by a Common Voters' Roll. This method is favoured for three reasons. Firstly, because it would mark the beginning of a single Kenyan citizenship, secondly, because it would provide an effective method of gradually replacing communal representation, thus opening the way to implementing the long-term programme; and thirdly because it would provide a reservoir of Members responsible to all races, from which to draw Ministers.

A third proposal is that a system of multiple voting should be established to achieve a different form of Common Voters' Roll.

A final proposal is that Kenya should have a federal government, thus allowing the Europeans to maintain control over the Highlands, and the other races to exercise control over their own regions.

The most sensible approach to finding a solution is to revive the idea of a Round Table Conference fully representative of all Kenyans, and presided over by the Colonial Secretary—such a conference would give Kenyans an opportunity of deciding their own future.

Land Policy

Land remains the single most important factor in Kenya. Until the land problem is settled, racial ill-feeling will continue to frustrate the honest efforts that are being made through the Swynnerton and Troup plans to place agriculture on a sound footing. Four major factors must be considered:

- (i) There is insufficient land to provide a livelihood for all who, at present, have no alternative employment to agriculture.
- (ii) The Kikuyu are only one of the several tribes most seriously affected by land hunger.
- (iii) Even though European settlement were reduced or abandoned in the White Highlands, no solution to land problems would be provided; but their being opened to members of all races is an essential psychological step.
- (iv) The historical factors that have contributed to the unfortunate clash between the Kikuyu and the European settlers cannot be disregarded in trying to achieve an equitable solution.

An effective land policy must, therefore, achieve the following results:

- (i) All available land, both in the Reserves and in the Highlands, should be made as productive as possible by the intensive application of such plans as have been proposed by Troup and Swynnerton.
- (ii) The size of landholding should be limited, allowance being made for the nature of the land. It is, of course, recognized that certain land is suitable only for ranching purposes and this calls for large allotments.
- (iii) While the criteria for land ownership should be beneficial occupation, proper recognition must be given to the peculiar relationship that still exists between African tribal society and its land. Such a policy does not exclude the need to eliminate socially destructive practices that are a feature of some traditional land systems.
- (iv) The reservation of land for the exclusive use of any single race should be modified and the African system of land tenure needs overhauling. Special consideration is required to prevent African landholding being alienated, thereby creating greater insecurity, and increasing the already dangerous problems arising from the combination of landlessness, and the absence of alternative employment, for Africans. The consolidation of landholdings should be encouraged.
- (v) Agricultural labour should be freed of all artificial restraints and penal sanctions. There should be proper provision in the Highlands for modern village settlements.
- (vi) Village settlement in the Kikuyu Reserve and elsewhere is obviously of great importance. But it should be planned and administered on the basis of democratic local government procedures, and an inquiry into the present administration of these villages should be made.
- (vii) The surplus rural population drawn to the towns should be integrated into their new urban environment. The steps that need to be taken to achieve this are already described in the Report of the Royal Commission on East Africa.

Economic Development

Kenya's land problems can only be solved through vigorous economic development to provide alternative employment for the excessive rural population. Every effort must be made to establish fair wages, good conditions of employment with sound labour codes, and trade union rights. Several important proposals for economic development, urbanization and industrialization have been made by the Royal Commission on East Africa.

Industrial development should be planned by the Government to provide attractive conditions for local and external capital. Full consultations must be held with the local inhabitants, and, where possible, their participation in new developments must be encouraged. Public utilities should be fostered and co-operative enterprise greatly increased.

Despite the poverty of the region, there is a great deal that can be done through private capital (especially in developing commerce, industry and mining) and by mobilizing the resources of the people through co-operative enterprise. International funds for economic development should also be drawn upon, through the United Nations Specialized Agencies, the World Bank and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. But it is essential that the indigenous people should be given an increasing sense of participation in the development of their country.

Colonial Office Views on Bureau Statement

Lord Lloyd, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, commenting on the Bureau's statement in a letter to the Rev. Michael Scott, said that he did not think there was the need for a special judicial inquiry to be set up to work out the principles and devise judicial procedures for dealing with detainees in the detention camps of Kenya. He has also said that all detainees have been informed of their right to appeal against their detention but that few have done so.

He continued: "I should like to make it clear that we know of no grounds for challenging the constitutional and legal validity of emergency legislation in Kenya. It is governed by an Imperial Order in Council, the Emergency Powers Order in Council, 1939 (as amended by the Emergency Powers (Amendment) Order in Council 1956), Part II of which, when brought into operation by proclamation, empowers the Governor to 'make such Regulations as appear to him to be necessary or expedient for securing the public safety, the defence of the territory, the maintenance of public order and the suppression of mutiny, rebellion and riot, and for maintaining supplies and services essential to the life of the community.' Again, there are no grounds for challenging the legality of sentences awarded to persons found guilty of Mau Mau offences, since persons accused of such offences are tried in properly constituted courts of law under the normal processes of evidence and cross-examination and sentences are passed only after conviction in such courts."

The Executive of the Africa Bureau in a press statement (September 2, 1956) pointed out that the fact that only a small number of detainees had appealed against their detention (by April, 1956, Lord Lloyd stated, there were only 2,246 of whom 398 had been released) pointed to ignorance and suspicion of the means available to them rather than acquiescence in their lot.

The Africa Bureau is convinced of the need for some judicial

body to inquire into the conditions of detainees and to rectify abuses and just grievances amongst the Kikuyu and other Africans affected by the Emergency, in order to relieve public anxiety and restore confidence in the processes of law and order as an instrument of justice for people of all races. The Executive Committee will shortly seek an opportunity to send a deputation to the Colonial Secretary on this question.

Church Leaders Ask for a Parliamentary Delegation

Anglican, Presbyterian and Free Church leaders in Kenya have declared their support for a second parliamentary delegation to be sent to Kenya.

Mr. E. W. Mathu, leader of the African Representative Members in the Legislative Council, said that nothing but good could result from a visit by a British parliamentary delegation. He added: "As on previous occasions, Africans would give the utmost co-operation. Our view is that the more parliamentarians who come out here, the better it is for mutual understanding. After all, there is nothing to hide."

Mr. Chanan Singh, leader of the Asian Unofficial Members said, it was only right that the general situation in Kenya should be understood properly by those people in Britain who had to speak about the Colony's affairs.

The *East African Standard* (July 17, 1956) in an editorial expressed approval for such a delegation, providing M.P.s. did not constitute themselves into a panel investigating allegations regarding detention camps or become "preoccupied with an inquiry into the administration of justice."

The Colonial Secretary, Mr. A. Lennox-Boyd, told the House of Commons that he thought there was a good deal to be said for sending an all-party Parliamentary delegation to Kenya and that the matter was under consideration.

Background to European and Asian Elections

Over fifty candidates have announced their intention to contest the twenty constituencies in the General Election. In one area only, Ukama, is there an unopposed candidate, Sir Charles Markham. Polling will take place between September 21 and October 2.

The three European non-official Ministers in Kenya, Messrs. Blundell, Havelock, and Welwood, have announced their support for a Coalition Government including Ministers of other races, and for European elected members joining the Government thereby retaining and extending non-official influence therein. They have announced that: "If re-elected we are prepared to work with any group of individuals who support the main principles of the Lyttleton Constitution, which are the progressive substitution of non-official for Civil Service Ministers and the participation of the main races in a Coalition Government. We consider that no barriers of party or group should separate those who believe that in such a form of Government lies a real prospect for peace and prosperity in Kenya and are prepared to work together for this common aim." (*East Africa and Rhodesia*, August 30, 1956).

The *Manchester Guardian* (August 25, 1956) commented: "On the European side, three main groups can be discerned. The United Country party, led by Mr. Blundell, has six members in the Legislature. Then there is the Federal Independence Party, which has no foothold in the council yet. And

there is the group, which may conveniently be called the Five Members, consisting of five of the present council who do not follow Mr. Blundell.

"There are also several candidates describing themselves as Independents, who would probably work with the Five Members if elected. And there is one forthright Capricorn candidate."

Preparations for African Elections

About 450,000 Africans in Kenya are expected to be found eligible to vote for their own Legislative Council Members as a result of the registration scheme which is to begin in October. The Africans' general election is planned for March, 1957.

Mr. Tom Mboya, general secretary of the Kenya Federation of Labour, who has been studying at Ruskin College, Oxford, is to stand as a candidate. He is at present in the United States.

African Views on Parity

The Nairobi District African Congress has announced that parity between Africans and representatives of other races in the Legislative Council is one of the basic principles of the policy which it intends pursuing. Their President, Mr. C. M. G. Argwings Kodhek said, that even 50 per cent of the seats would not be proportionate representation. There would be an appreciable increase in the number of African constituency representatives in the new Legislature—without any sectional bargainings on an increase in the number of representatives of other races.

"If all the goodwill we have been hearing of from other races is genuine, we hope that this very moderate demand of the inadequately represented Africans will not be resisted."

African Unofficial Members subsequently announced, in a statement to the *East African Standard* (July 26, 1956) that parity between European and Non-European Unofficials in the Council of Ministers was the stumbling block to constitutional advance.

"What the Africans wanted was to modify the Lyttleton Plan now to allow two additional Africans in the Legislative Council and one additional African Minister with a Portfolio.

"The non-African said that we could not have these at their expense and that any changes must include increases in their own numbers to keep Africans in the third place in their own country."

The African community had benefited very little from the Lyttleton Plan. But non-Africans had gained greatly as a result of the institution of the constitution in 1954, after African Members had failed to gain support for their proposals from both European and Asian Elected Members.

In the Council of Ministers those two communities had three and two elected Ministers respectively, while the African received only one seat. "Non-Africans wield tremendous political power—disproportionate to their numbers—in Kenya today, and they view with suspicion any move that might allow Africans to share effectively in this power.

"This is the main reason which has forced non-Africans in the Legislative Council to oppose any changes in the Lyttleton Plan."

European Barred from Nairobi African Congress

Mr. Argwings-Kodhek, President of the Congress, said at a

press conference that a European had recently been admitted as a member of the Congress, but that the Registrar of Societies had intervened to cancel the decision.

He had previously announced Congress's intention to appeal to British M.Ps. against restrictions which the Kenya Government were imposing. Congress had been unaware that there was any regulation to prevent Kikuyu, Embu and Meru attending meetings. "It was only the other day that the Congress was informed by the Nairobi Area Police Headquarters that the War Council had issued a directive forbidding K.E.M. from attending meetings of the Nairobi District African Congress," the statement said.

Mr. Argwings-Khodes added: "If we cannot get freedom of assembly and all the democratic rights, our only choice will be to leave the Government alone to deal with more underground activities." Unless the discrimination was removed, the Congress would dissolve—for no political organization can carry on like this. The Congress had been used by incompetent petty officers of the Government as a scapegoat to cover a lack of co-ordination.

"The War Council has not, to the best of my knowledge, decreed that Kikuyu, Meru and Embu shall not attend meetings of the Kenya Indian Congress, the Federal Independence Party or even those of the United Country Party. Perhaps those are not political organizations," Mr. Argwings-Khodes said. "The Nairobi District African Congress is a government-named political body which absolutely complies with a partly-government drafted constitution."

The Congress, formed in December last, had a membership of about one hundred. It could not—and would not—function without the participation of the three tribes. African Representative Members of Legislative Council were not co-operative, and European Elected Members, who had been approached to assist in "the K.E.M. Shauri" had been sympathetic, but negative. (*East African Standard*, August 4, 1956.)

The Acting Registrar-General subsequently stated that the constitution of Congress restricts membership to adult Africans in the Nairobi district; that no European had applied for membership; that one had made a donation; that intervention was neither necessary nor made; and there could therefore be no question of any unfair discrimination. (*East Africa and Rhodesia*, September 6, 1956.)

Indian Congress—President's Address

Mr. N. S. Mangat, Q.C. said in his presidential address to the Indian Congress that since they were termed non-Europeans or non-Africans, nobody could be expected to take much interest in a community whose name began with a negative in every positive sphere of life. "We are in dire need of a formula which should be acceptable to all those who live here and which would be capable of being developed into the basis of a sturdy Kenya nation. We must make an effort to find and stabilize the maximum area of agreement, and, where we fail to agree, how best we can get along in spite of the differences. As in all such matters, there will be need for compromise. We may have to drop or postpone some of our long-held ideas. The supersession of intolerance and acrimony by co-operation and give and take is the first preliminary. The time has come when we should declare an end to our fifty-year feud with the European community and bury the hatchet."

There were three issues upon which the European and Indian

communities disagreed: the retention of the White Highlands, the continuation of communal electoral rolls and the retention of separate schools. The Royal Commission had recognized that the White Highlands should no longer be European reserves; a way can be found whereby a common electoral roll can be introduced on a qualitative basis to be run concurrently with the communal rolls.

"Our assimilation with other communities and within ourselves has been hampered by our relentless religious and sectional bigotry, and, being unwilling and unaccustomed to smooth flowing, we shall drown ourselves in the whirlpool of swifter currents, and what little influence we now wield in the council of State would vanish beyond recall with the introduction of a common roll."

The issue on schools should, Mr. Mangat thought, be held in abeyance. Referring to recent expressions of opinion in favour of trial by jury of all races, Mr. Mangat pointed out that not only Africans were denied this privilege. "The Indian community has also resented this preferential treatment to Europeans and has asked for the removal of what they consider, in my opinion quite mistakenly, a form of discrimination."

"I say that by allowing trial by jury to Asians and Africans you will expose the whole criminal law to a mortal dart. The members of our community would be exposed to influences which many of them might find it quite unable to resist. With our wretched communal and sub-communal relationships and rivalries, most of us are not yet capable of being trusted with a valuable right like this. There might be some sense in asking for the abolition of the jury system altogether, since there is not a large enough population here from which to draw impartial panels for the purpose, or in cases which involve members of different races. But to ask for trial by jury for all and to pretend that we are equally good in that respect as the Europeans is perverted conceit."

Speaking of the Lyttleton plan he said: "We accepted the Lyttleton Plan and participated in it. One of the 'broad objectives' of the new multi-racial constitutional set-up was 'to promote racial harmony and friendliness and to develop opportunities for all loyal subjects irrespective of race or religion, to advance in accordance with character and ability.' The European political party which toed the line at the behest of the high personage whose name the plan bears, at the first sign of a rough sea changed its course and has ever since been sailing under a flag of convenience."

"It has become abundantly clear already that the extension of even the weak, anaemic portion of Ministerial responsibility to the Asians was by no means based on sincerity of purpose so far as the unreserved acceptance of the ideal of equality of rights and of opportunities for all races was concerned, but was tolerated grudgingly, with deep mental reservations and only as the result of the heavy strains and stresses imposed by the emergency and by the somewhat unconventional methods employed by a determined Secretary of State."

Mr. Mangat concluded: "We are a frightened community, uncertain of our future. The gravest cause of our fear is that many of us do not comply with the law. A large proportion of our wealthy people have Income Tax Office inquiries hanging over their heads like the sword of Damocles. Many others are in perpetual fear of municipal inspectors, since they do not comply with township by-laws. The trading community has fear of bank managers, and the ordinary salesman the fear of his

employer. The whole communal structure is infected with fear. It is unimaginable for a community like this to be self-respecting."

Mr. Vasey's Address

The Minister of Finance, Mr. E. A. Vasey, told the Indian Congress that he favoured a coalition form of Government, between officials on the one hand and Kenya representatives on the other. The latter group he described as "itself a coalition of representatives of the main racial groups, co-operating to find the best answers to the many problems—constitutional, political, economic and financial—which face the people of Kenya."

Speaking of the elections, Mr. Vasey said: "Europeans will be voting for European representatives, Indians will be voting for Indian representatives, Muslims will be voting for Muslim representatives. Whom are those voters going to choose?" Would each race choose representatives concerned primarily with that race's interests? "Is the habit of voting on a racial basis and a racial platform already so deeply engrained that the voters of our communities will ignore the warning rumbles of change heard faintly today, but likely to increase in volume and strength in the years just ahead?"

"In March 1957, for the first time in our history, there will be an open constitutional channel for the expression of African political opinion." African Members, when returned, "will be able clearly to claim that they represent the opinion of the African people. What type of men are the Africans doing to vote for? Men who will be pledged primarily to represent African interests or men who will try to serve a nation? . . . What sort of example are we going to set the African voter? Are we going to make him believe that political extremism is the only way to political progress or are we going to show that we, ourselves, believe that moderation and co-operation are the only possible paths?"

Mr. Vasey said that before self-government could be achieved agreement amongst all the people of Kenya must be reached. Once again declaring his support for progress to be made towards a common roll, he said: "I proposed some years ago that a start could be made in this direction by using the Legislative Council as an electoral college and by secret ballot, electing a number of people who would, through the very basis of their election, accept a common responsibility. After a period of trial, this process of 'common membership' could be carried directly into the electoral field through a common electoral roll with, as I said before, reasonably high qualifications. On such a basis of such common roll I would offer myself for election immediately, believing that on some such basis as this a man could serve his country in the knowledge that he had the confidence of members of all groups that he would serve them impartially to the best of his ability for the good of all. The idea I proposed was not acceptable in certain quarters, though I believe that it had in it points well worthy of discussion. But of this I am convinced that, within the next four years, we must find some basis of this kind . . ."

"I believe we are all fully aware of the difficulties, the fears, the dangers. The fears that on a common roll the advanced communities, the minorities, will be swept aside and left with no adequate say in the parliament of the country and the direction of affairs; the dangers that the control of the country would pass into the hands of people with little or no experience in the complications of government and the difficulties attending re-

sponsibility. Is not that danger even greater, even more imminent under the present system? That fact is, I think, likely to be underlined, unfortunately, in the African racial elections of 1957 and of 1960. We must find a bridge to carry our country over this period of danger, something which will enable us to lead all educated and responsible citizens to this safer shore of common thought and common responsibility. I believe that in the last few months the outline of that bridge has been given through the medium of the Capricorn Contract, setting forth, as it does, the ultimate objects of a society and structure such as ours, and to those objectives and that Contract I give my whole-hearted support . . ."

Labour Department Criticizes Federation of Labour

Activities of the Kenya Federation of Labour in the field of politics are described in the Labour Department's report for 1955 as "a development deplored in many quarters and hardly calculated to assist a trade union movement still struggling for recognition. Resolutions adopted by the federation at its annual conference and submitted to the Vienna congress of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions had little relation to normal trade union activities and appeared to have achieved little beyond alienating opinion previously sympathetic to the movement."

Under the leadership of the federation, African trade unions continued to make a steady recovery from the effects of the Emergency, and the federation had, if anything, strengthened its influence over the African trade union movement. Relations between the unions and the Government were for the most part friendly and constructive, the report says.

The Annual Report also stated that an increasing number of Kikuyu, Embu and Meru are returning to the labour market in Central Province. The widespread shortage of labour has meant that employers are making greater use of employment exchanges. A woman labour officer was now dealing with the increasing number of African women seeking employment in the city area. A number of African girls of good education had been placed in jobs in offices, shops, and welfare and supervisory positions in industry.

Labour from Ruanda-Urundi¹

Government proposals to import labour from Ruanda-Urundi to work in the Colony's sisal and sugar plantations have been described as "a shocking death blow to the entire African Labour movement in Kenya," by the Kenya Federation of Labour. Their statement said that the Government's proposal was "going to have unpredictable economic repercussions on the African workers in Kenya." With a population of 6 million Africans, Kenya had more manpower than could be usefully mobilized. Despite the fact that there were still 40,000 detainees, there was no alarming labour shortage in the country.

The Minister of Labour, Mr. W. F. Coutts, in reply to these criticisms said that, although the Government did not approach the Federation directly, the Federation's president, Mr. H. P. Oduol, was a member of the Labour Advisory Board and was present at the board's meeting when the matter was discussed. There were a few objections initially, but the Government had given an assurance that, in view of the fact

¹DIGEST IV, 1.

that it would be a pilot scheme, Kenya workers would not be displaced.

The *Agence France Presse* has reported that a scheme to recruit men for sisal plantations is still being negotiated between the Kenya Government and the Belgian authorities in Ruanda-Urundi and that there was opposition to this in Uganda as well as Kenya. This however was denied by Kenya's Labour Commissioner who said: "It is nonsense for anyone to suggest that by recruiting labour for Kenya from the Ruanda-Urundi a shortage of labour would result in Uganda. There is no question of running short of labour from that source and, as I understand it, the authorities there are pleased to find an additional employment outlet for their surplus population."

Mr. Luyt added that pay and conditions of service in Kenya did not suffer by comparison with those in Uganda and Tanganyika. (*East African Standard*, August, 1956.)

Tanganyika

U.T.P. Leader Attacks African Extremists

MR. IVOR BAYLDON, presiding over a recent convention of the United Tanganyika Party, said that a lead in political democracy must be given by Europeans since it was the British pattern which was being followed. It was impossible, however, to exaggerate the importance of the Asians in Tanganyika, for many had lived in the country for generations and considered themselves true Tanganyikans. Asians were among the most attentive and strong supporters of the U.T.P., in which most of them saw a bridge between the cultures of the East and the West.

The time had come, he said, to speak out plainly against subversive activity. "Anyone who has travelled the country asking questions and speaking to responsible people will find it alleged that certain political officials employed to spread a nationalist doctrine exercise a reign of coercion and fear among the Africans. They exploit every grievance, real or imaginary, in the interests of their own party. They encourage ill-will and stir up racial hatred . . . Many Africans, particularly those who have received European education, are sincere in their interest in the future of Tanganyika and are supporters of African nationalism. This is not surprising, for until the formation of the United Tanganyika Party there was no outlet for their political aspirations. We do not blame them but their leaders, and we appeal to them to give the U.T.P. a fair hearing." (*East Africa and Rhodesia*, July 12, 1956.)

T.A.N.U.s Reply

Mr. Julius Nyerere, addressing the second anniversary meeting of the Tanganyika African National Union said that although T.A.N.U. had not been specifically mentioned at the U.T.P. convention, it had been implied that some members were "American gangsters" or hooligans. He therefore reiterated three points in the policy of his union:—

That it was a reproach to any nationhood to be governed by foreign people, no matter how friendly they might be.

The Union was determined to obtain freedom for Tanganyika "however long it may take."

The struggle for freedom must be by lawful and peaceful

means, as the way of the jungle "is no good for people claiming to be civilized. People must learn self-control before they can hope to govern themselves." (*East African Standard*, July 10, 1956)

The Governor Praises the Indian Community

The Governor, Sir Edward Twining, welcoming the Vice-President of India, Dr. Radhakrishnan, in Dar es Salaam said: "Your visit focuses my attention on the large Indian community we have in Tanganyika. This community is an integral part of Tanganyika and its immediate historical roots go back at least three generations. In the multi-racial society which is being built in Tanganyika, and which will, I hope, ultimately grow into a non-racial society—a society in which all men progress together from the common good, unhampered by racial or religious discriminations—the Indian community are playing a large and increasingly important part."

Sir Edward maintained that people often forgot how recently—in historical terms—had been the emergence of Tanganyika. "Today," he said, "I would like to pay tribute to the part which is being played by the Indian community in this great and rapid historical process." The Royal Commission on East Africa had paid tribute to the trading activities of the Indian community, but he would like to add to that tribute the professional, managerial and artisan sections of the community which have contributed equally to the steady development of the territory. "In the public life the Indian community has never been lacking in civic-minded men, prepared to give up their time to sit in Legislative Council, and on local government councils and on numerous boards, committees and other such bodies which do so much work for the people of this territory and are such a feature of the British type of democratic government which we are trying to develop here."

Proposed Franchise Qualifications

The Government's proposals for the qualifications of voters and candidates at elections were announced in the *Tanganyika Gazette* (July 23, 1956.)

Voters must have resided within the territory for twelve months, and within their constituency for six months immediately prior to registration. A minimum age of 25 years is required, and one of four alternative qualifications:—

1. Education—Standard XII or its equivalent.
2. Office—Two years service prior to registration in certain recognized offices such as those of the native authority, or the provincial or district council. Publicly recognized dignitaries performing a civic function might also be eligible.
3. An income of more than £200.
4. Property valued at not less than £500.

To become a candidate a man or woman must first be registered as a voter under the proposals and secondly be required to satisfy five conditions:—

1. Four years residence within the last six in the territory.
2. Sufficient fluency in English to be able to read and understand Legislative Council documents, and absolute fluency in either English or Swahili.
3. Be both able and willing to take the oath of allegiance.
4. Be nominated by not less than twenty-five registered voters of the candidate's own race.
5. Pay a deposit of £50 to be forfeited if the candidate fails to receive a specific proportion of the votes cast.

First African Cotton Ginnery

The first cotton ginnery in Tanganyika to be owned by the growers themselves—all African members of the Victoria Federation of Co-operative Unions—has been opened by the Governor at Kasamwa. The Tanganyika Lint and Seed Marketing Board has advanced two-thirds of the £88,000 cost of the ginnery.

The opening of the new ginnery, the Governor said, was in accordance with the policy of the Government which he had sometimes described as giving the African a share in the equity. "I am most anxious to see the African population not only get increased wealth, but also to enter into partnership with those with the 'know-how' in commerce and industry, so that partnership is a reality and not just a cliché." (*East African Standard*, June 29, 1956.)

Uganda

New Governor Appointed

SIR FREDERICK CRAWFORD, K.C.M.G., O.B.E., at present Deputy Governor of Kenya and previously Governor of the Seychelles, is to succeed Sir Andrew Cohen as Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Uganda. Sir Frederick served for a number of years as an Administrative Officer in Tanganyika and from 1947 to 1950 as Economic Secretary and Director of Development in Northern Rhodesia.

Sir Andrew Cohen, K.C.M.G., K.C.V.O., O.B.E., whose appointment as Governor ends in January, 1957, has been appointed Permanent United Kingdom Representative on the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations.

Muslim Attitude to Self-Government

The Central Council of Muslim Associations, a largely Asian organization newly formed in Uganda, has declared that "adequate and effective representation" of non-African groups in the Legislative Council should not be allowed to retard constitutional advance in Uganda, and that if it appeared likely to do so "the Muslim community would not insist upon the reservation of minority representation."

The Council expressed whole-hearted support for the statement on elections made by the Governor of Uganda, Sir Andrew Cohen,¹ and deep satisfaction with the Government's policy of political, social, and economic advancement towards self-government. "In pursuance of its declared policy of complete integration, it is felt that the rights of the Muslims to full participation in the life of the country in accordance with the rule of law should be respected." (*The Times*, August 4, 1956.)

Constitutional Reforms for Toro

Talks between Toro and the Protectorate Government on constitutional changes have broken down. The Toro Government recently refused to accept the new District Councils Ordinance which was designed to apply to all the kingdoms except Buganda. As an alternative, a draft constitution closely modelled on the Buganda Agreement of 1955, was drawn up by the Rukurato (Toro Parliament).

The District Councils Ordinance would have the effect of preserving the traditional offices of the kingdoms, while changing the nature of the local parliaments from the traditional

¹DIGEST III, 8.

bodies they now are, to local authorities on the English model.

A correspondent writing from Uganda said the Governor proposed that representatives of the Rukurato and the Protectorate Government should meet in Entebbe to find out whether agreement could be reached on fresh constitutional arrangements for Toro. Unfortunately some ambiguity arose at this point. The letters of the Protectorate Government referred to draft Constitutional Regulations without specifying that they were to be made under the Ordinance; the communications from the Toro side referred to a new Constitution and to a new Agreement. As soon as the two delegations met in Entebbe this divergence became apparent, but after considerable dispute as to terms of reference, it was eventually conceded by the Protectorate representatives that, if agreement could be reached on the substance of the draft Constitutional Regulations to be made under the District Councils Ordinance, there might thereafter be "exploratory discussions" on a new Agreement to replace the 1900 Agreement, but the two sides were thinking in entirely different terms.

In particular the Toro representatives desired to set up a ministerial system, and the Protectorate representatives were not prepared to accede to this request and insisted on the preservation of the local government pattern of administration through committees. This was the principal issue upon which the discussions broke down.

Tariff Increases

A report from Kampala in the *New Commonwealth* (August, 1956), stated that representations are to be made to the East African Industrial Council asking it to recommend the territorial governments to protect the local cotton textile industry. Local production of cotton goods, it is claimed, is being conducted at a loss in order to meet competition from imports, which are mainly of Indian origin.

Since 1952 between 12 million and 19½ million yards of cotton textiles have been imported each year from the United Kingdom. These quantities represent perhaps 2½ per cent or 3 per cent of Lancashire's total exports, but in the present state of trade any prospect of higher tariff barriers, even where no very large yardage is concerned must cause some anxiety.

Lukiko's Land Proposals¹

By invoking the unrepealed section of the Uganda Agreement of 1900, the Kabaka of Buganda has halted the proposals of his Government to distribute the surplus of 154 square miles of land among "deserving people"—proposals which met with widespread protests. *The Times* (July 23, 1956) stated that the Kabaka has clearly extricated his Government from an awkward situation.

The distribution was widely opposed throughout Buganda and resolutions condemning the Lukiko's action were sent to the Governor, the Kabaka and the Lukiko while some people called for the resignation of the Buganda Government.

Zanzibar

Common Roll Elections in 1957

WITH its full Arab complement of three Unofficials present for the first time in more than two years, Zanzibar Legislative

¹DIGEST IV, 1.

Council approved the Coutts Report, as modified by the Government, on methods of choosing the Council's Unofficial Members. Approval of the proposals means that elections on a common roll will be introduced by the end of next year if all arrangements go smoothly. The elections will be in respect of only half of the twelve Unofficial seats in Legislative Council, however, and six Unofficials will still be nominated.

Before approval was given to the Constitutional advance, Sheikh Ali Muhsin made it clear that the Arabs of Zanzibar and Pemba did not consider that the proposed partial election of Unofficials to Legislative Council came anywhere near meeting the Arab demands, both in point of scope and speed of implementation.

Mr. P. H. Nightingale, Acting Chief Secretary, said: "In the absence of experience of elections in Zanzibar, it is not possible to estimate the time required for all the necessary preparations, but the Government hopes that the legislation will be enacted before the end of this year. If there are no unforeseen difficulties over this or in the recruitment of staff, we can look forward to the holding of the first elections in the latter half of 1957." (*East African Standard*, August 4, 1956.)

The *Tanganyika Standard* (August 4, 1956) commented: "Zanzibar is to be congratulated on the quiet way it has set about making changes towards unofficial representation of its affairs in Legislative Council. The Arab members, while showing their disapproval of the present set-up in Council and boycotting its meetings for two years have maintained the dignity of the Council and their own, by not attempting to force the issue except by completely constitutional means, in spite of demands from some of their community to take somewhat more drastic—and no doubt spectacular—action to get what some of them wanted. Zanzibar in its unassuming way, is setting about the task of political development in the right way and along right lines. In our attitude towards political advancement we would all do well to bear in mind the comment made in Zanzibar Legislative Council by Sheikh Ali Muhsin when stating that the proposals now agreed to did not by any means meet with the demands of the Arab population, either in scope or speed of implementation. He said: 'We have tried to lower the speed in order that we might crawl forward as a convoy. This is crawling forward and no rash entering into something unknown.' A philosophy well worthy of deep thought and earnest consideration."

WEST AFRICA The Gold Coast

Independence for Ghana

The Gold Coast is to become an independent state within the British Commonwealth on March 6, 1957; thereafter it will be known as Ghana. The Prime Minister, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, speaking in the House of Assembly on September 18, 1956, read a dispatch from the Colonial Secretary, which referred to the results of the recent general election, the Prime Minister's motion calling for independence, and the Trusteeship Council's resolution on British Togoland.¹ The dispatch stated that providing the General Assembly endorsed this resolution appropri-

¹See p. 49.

ate action would be taken to include the territory in the new sovereign state of Ghana. The dispatch concluded: "It is the earnest hope of Her Majesty's Government that at this turning point in the history of the Gold Coast all sections of the community will be able to work together for the general good. In the name of Her Majesty's Government I wish to convey to the Government and people of the country our heartfelt good wishes for its future success."

Election Results

THE Convention People's Party was returned to power in the general election with 72 out of 104 seats. The Northern People's Party won 15, the National Liberation Movement 12, the Togoland Congress 2, the Moslem Association Party 1, and the Federation of Youth Organizations 1. Two Independents were also returned. The new Legislative Assembly will therefore retain its composition of a C.P.P. Government with 72 members (a number which was increased after the 1954 election by Independents who went over to the Party) and a combined opposition of 32 members.

The character of the opposition, however, has changed with the inclusion for the first time of members of the National Liberation Movement. There is also a regrouping in the area of C.P.P. representation. The Party has five members from the seven municipal seats, against the seven won in 1954; thirty-nine in the Colony, an increase of six which gives them all the seats in the region; eight in Ashanti, against sixteen; eight in Transvolta Togoland, as before; and seven in the Northern Territories instead of eleven.

The C.P.P. with a candidate in each of the 104 constituencies, polled a little over 57 per cent of the total votes cast in the country, compared with 54 per cent in the last election. The N.L.M. (39 candidates) received 21 per cent and the Northern People's Party (23 candidates) 11 per cent. In Ashanti, the N.L.M. received 57 per cent of the votes in the Region and C.P.P. 43 per cent.

New Governmental Appointments

Six Ministers under the Prime Minister, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah retain the portfolios they held in the previous Government. These are Mr. K. A. Gbedemah (Finance), Mr. A. Casely Hayford (Communications), Mr. A. E. Inkumsah (Housing), Mr. Ofori Atta (Local Government), Mr. Oko Adjei (Interior), Mr. N. A. Welbeck (Works). New Appointments include Mr. Kojo Botsio to the Ministry of Trade and Labour (formerly Minister of State); Mr. Allasani changes from Education to Health, and Mr. Erzuah, formerly Ministerial Secretary to the Ministry of Labour becomes Minister of Health.

In London, Mr. T. Hutton-Mills has become the Acting Commissioner for the Gold Coast, in succession to Mr. Kodow Mercer.

The Opposition's Case

The Asantemen Council, the traditional council of the Ashanti chiefs, met under the presidency of the Asantahene to discuss the results of the general election and the motion tabled and passed by the Government calling for independence. The Asantahene said that the council had always held the view that agreement on a constitution should be reached before the Gold

Coast achieved independence, but there was still no agreement, as those favouring a unitary constitution had won in the Colony and those favouring federation had won in Ashanti, the Northern Territories, and the Trust Territory of Southern Togoland.

A subsequent statement said: "The Prime Minister's claim obviously presupposes an assumption, which is erroneous, untenable and unacceptable, that Ashanti, the Northern Territories, and Togoland under the United Kingdom Trusteeship are merely administrative regions such as those within the Gold Coast Colony. The facts are, however, quite different. Ashanti is not just an administrative region. Neither are the Northern Territories, nor the Trust Territory. The Gold Coast, which was declared a colony in 1874 by Britain, was the Gold Coast Colony. An Order in Council in 1901 annexed Ashanti to the Crown and not to the Gold Coast Colony. Nor was the Northern Territories declared protectorate of or by the Gold Coast Colony. In joining the Colonial Legislature in 1946 to put an end to the practice of one colonial legislature (that of the Gold Coast) legislating for another colony (Ashanti) Ashanti was not by, and for, that fact losing her identity as Ashanti nor as a separate territory. Nor did the Northern Territories regard themselves as having lost protectorate status if, for administrative convenience they joined a colonial legislature in 1951. Indeed the Trust Territory of Togoland remained and remains, trust territory although it has been represented in the legislative assembly since 1951."

Professor K. A. Busia, leader of the Opposition, said at a press conference in London that he was going to suggest to the British Government that a conference should be called before the granting of independence for further consideration of the principles to be embodied in the constitution. The stability of a future nation was at stake. There were strong regional sentiments which must be taken account of, and the best way to recognize them was by adopting a federal form of union. The proposals of the present Nkrumah administration were a threat to individual freedom.

In a letter to *The Times* (September 14, 1956) clarifying the attitude of the Opposition, Dr. Busia said they were not seeking to change the date of independence, but they were asking for a final effort to be made to settle the constitutional problems before that date was reached. In the Northern Territories, chiefs and leaders were prepared to accept independence provided that their traditional institutions, such as chieftaincy and their own Regional Assembly, were firmly entrenched in the constitution. National sentiment in the Ashanti was based on a history of which the Ashantis were proud, and on loyalty to the Golden Stool, the symbol of the nation's identity, and any constitution which failed to recognize this would arouse violent feelings against it. Dr. Busia suggested that the Secretary of State for the Colonies should visit the Gold Coast before the date for independence was formally announced, and that he should make an effort to "bring parties together to settle the constitutional issues."

Comment from Abroad

Sir Mervyn Wheatley, formerly a Governor of the Bahrel-Ghazal Province of the Southern Sudan, said in a letter to the *Daily Telegraph* (August 24, 1956): "Many who have experience as administrators in Africa view with alarm the pos-

sibility of the Colonial Office handing over the Northern Territories and Ashanti in too great a haste and without more realistic guarantees than those given to the inhabitants of the Southern Sudan. Britain has undertaken responsibility for these African and other territories, and we cannot hurriedly divest ourselves of it even when we are faced with the temptation of appeasement, to save running into a difficult situation."

The Times of India (July 21, 1956) said: "The right of Dr. Nkrumah to speak for the people of the Gold Coast is clear and uncontested and rests on considerably more than a mere 'reasonable majority' which had been stipulated by Britain as the condition for self-government. One over-riding significance of the verdict registered by the election is the repudiation of federal demands of the N.L.M. and the Northern People's Party. The Gold Coast voted impressively for a unitary system of government. The Opposition would do well to accept the people's verdict."

The Hindu (July 20, 1956) described the Gold Coast as "something of a symbol in Africa . . . On one hand we have the Union of South Africa preaching the doctrine of *apartheid* which claims that Africans never can govern themselves; on the other, we have the Gold Coast where under Dr. Nkrumah's leadership an African country has made much progress towards self-determination."

The Manchester Guardian (September 12, 1956) said: "There is a good deal of force in Dr. Busia's argument. One of his main points is that the Gold Coast is not really such an integrated country as it looks; the cadre of British civil servants directed from the centre has given it an illusory appearance of unity, but the links are still weak and may snap if they have to carry the weight of a centralizing policy." There was also the fear of the threat to individual freedom. These were reasonable points. "If the recommendations on local devolution made by Sir Frederick Bourne, the constitutional adviser, can be not merely enacted but written into the Constitution and entrenched in it, then it should surely be possible to get most of the advantages of a federal system without its inevitable weaknesses in this context. It may be found, in this respect, that the provisions regarding the position of the chiefs may prove more important than those regarding such mundane matters as housing and agriculture. Individual freedom needs its safeguards too. But are they not to be sought rather in the independence of the judiciary (and the right of appeal to the Privy Council) than in a federal union? And, one might add, in a strong and vigilant Opposition in the legislature? But things are not going to be easy anyway. The problems stated by Dr. Busia are there, whatever the right solution may be."

Volta Project Report Issued

The Preparatory Commission has reported favourably on the feasibility of the Volta River Project. The Gold Coast Government, expressing appreciation of the Commission's work, said that two basic conditions would need to be satisfied before the project could be undertaken. First an agreement, satisfactory to both the British and the Gold Coast Governments and to the Aluminium companies, would need to be negotiated. In this connexion, all parties have agreed that time must now be given for them to consider their respective positions and to enable them to find a basis on which final negotiations might be carried out.

Second, the great capital investment involved in the Project makes it essential for the most careful assessment to be made of all its financial implications, particularly as they relate to the Gold Coast and to other developments desired by the country. It has been agreed by the parties concerned, that the International Bank of Reconstruction and Development should be invited to make a general assessment of the scheme and to indicate the extent to which the Bank would be willing to take part in it, if agreement on the framework could be agreed between the two Governments and the aluminium companies. The Bank would be sending a mission to the Gold Coast later in 1956. (*Gold Coast Today*, August 15, 1956.)

Report on the Cocoa Purchasing Company

The Commission of Inquiry into the affairs of the Cocoa Purchasing Company,¹ a subsidiary of the Cocoa Marketing Board has published its report. This states that the allegation that the C.P.P. (the Government Party) controlled the C.P.C. is justified, and that most of the irregularities investigated would have been prevented if the Government "had taken a firm stand to check and punish irregularities of the type complained about by both Mr. Mercer and Professor Busia as far back as 1953." The Prime Minister, though in possession of evidence of malpractices, is said to have done nothing about it, because "he had unfortunately placed himself in such an embarrassing position in relation to Mr. Djin (former managing director) that he could not take or cause to be taken steps which might displease or be unpleasant to Mr. Djin."

A Government memorandum on the Report states that the C.P.C. is to cease making loans and that an Agricultural Credit Board will take over this responsibility. The Cocoa Marketing Board is invited to investigate and deal with the individual irregularities in the C.P.C. noted by the Commission, and it is proposed that the law and the Standing Orders of the Assembly should be changed to enable Government and Assembly to exercise greater control over Statutory Authorities. The Government proposes that the Assembly should be given an opportunity to debate the annual reports of Statutory Boards, and that a new Sessional Select Committee should be created to examine their accounts.

British Togoland

End of Trusteeship Recommended

THE Trusteeship Council has recommended to the U.N. General Assembly the termination of the United Kingdom's trusteeship over British Togoland,² in accordance with the wishes of the majority of the inhabitants as expressed in a recent plebiscite held in the territory. By a vote of thirteen in favour, with the representative of Guatemala abstaining, the Council endorsed a resolution introduced by India calling upon the Assembly to take "appropriate steps" in consultation with the administering authority, "for the termination of the trusteeship agreement for the territory to become effective upon the attainment of independence by the Gold Coast." (*U.N. News*, August 7, 1956.)

¹Digest III, 5.

²Administration by U.K. as an integral part of the Gold Coast for over 35 years.

Nigeria

Crisis in the Eastern Region

THE crisis which recently arose in Eastern Nigeria stemmed originally from the Governor's decision to act upon a motion introduced into the House of Assembly. The motion, proposed by Mr. E. O. Eyo, asked for a Commission of Inquiry into the investment of public funds in the African Continental Bank which was founded by Dr. Azikiwe, Prime Minister of the Region. The Speaker declared the question to be *sub judice*. The Prime Minister's office issued a statement to the effect that there had been some disagreement between Regional Ministers and the Governor, Sir Clement Pless, and that the Governor, "contrary to the constitution", had refused to act on the advice of his Ministers. According to the release the Governor was said to have supported the demand of the United National Independence Party to reverse the ruling of the Speaker in connexion with Mr. Eyo's motion and to institute a commission of inquiry into Mr. Eyo's allegation.

Dr. Azikiwe then stated that he was contemplating resigning, and in a cable to the Colonial Secretary complained that the Governor, Sir Clement Pless could not adapt himself to contemporary British colonial policy and should not be allowed to continue. Dr. Azikiwe denied that the Colonial Secretary had any right to interfere in questions affecting banking, and accused him of doing so in order to protect the British banking monopoly.

The Colonial Secretary declared his support for the Governor's action and informed Parliament that he had decided to appoint a commission of inquiry, with Sir Stafford Foster-Sutton, Chief Justice of the Federation of Nigeria, as chairman, to investigate the dispute. He said he was taking this action to "secure a speedy, impartial and full investigation as to the investments made in the Bank, and the grave allegations that have been made—matters closely affecting the conduct of the Government." Mr. Lennox-Boyd said the appointment of the Commission must almost inevitably mean some delay in convening the Constitutional Conference which was to have met on September 19, but he hoped it would only be a short postponement.

Mr. Lennox-Boyd also informed the House of Commons that Dr. Azikiwe, on assuming office, informed the Governor that he had resigned his directorship of the Bank. He, and enterprises with which he has been associated, are still shown as large shareholders in it. "I have been informed that during 1955, £877,000 of public money was invested in the Bank—and other large sums deposited with it—out of funds made available from Marketing Board reserves to the Finance Corporation, which the Eastern Region Government had established. I have also been informed that, following this investment, the Bank was a party to certain documents contemplating that the Premier shall be life chairman of the Bank and purporting to give him the right to nominate certain other directors."

Dr. Azikiwe has now instituted libel actions against Mr. Eyo and certain newspapers. Dr. Azikiwe subsequently withdrew his threat of resignation and said he would stay in office until the Commission's findings were known, since to resign now would amount to abdication to a "power drunken bureaucracy and a power seeking microscopic party. To fight from

within the Government was more potent than to parry blows from without."

In the course of a debate in the Eastern House of Assembly on August 7, a motion of no confidence in the Governor was passed. The Leader of the Opposition, Professor Eyo Ita, said that the Opposition was not against the investment of public funds in the African Continental Bank. It merely wanted the atmosphere to be cleared.

Before Eastern Nigeria's House of Assembly adjourned, it welcomed the decision to appoint a commission of inquiry but regretted the "high-handed" manner in which the Colonial Secretary had dealt with the matter, and recommended the appointment of a British High Court judge as chairman of the Commission. Another motion called for an inquiry into the activities of the Bank of British West Africa because "this House views with grave apprehension the conspiracy of the Bank to create a monopoly in banking throughout the Federation of Nigeria."

The Commission of Inquiry opened in Lagos on August 27. On August 19, Ministers and supporters of the N.C.N.C. contributed more than £5,000 towards the Premier's legal expenses as a result of the inquiry. Sir Frank Soskice, Q.C., representing the Prime Minister, said at the opening session of the inquiry that Dr. Azikiwe had a complete answer to all the allegations made against him.

Northern Electoral Laws Published

New electoral regulations for the Northern House of Assembly provide for 131 members to be elected who must be adult male taxpayers. Single-member constituencies will be set up and direct election by secret ballot will take place in eighteen urban seats.

Elections for rural electoral districts will be through electoral colleges. In most areas there will be only two stages, though provision is made for intermediate stages when, for geographical reasons, they cannot be avoided. Voting in final electoral colleges and in all registration areas will be by secret ballot. Election at the primary level will be by acclamation.

The *Nigerian Citizen* (August 22, 1956) commented: "For the first time in our history, direct elections will be held in the urban areas of the Northern Region this year. This, indeed, is a very significant step forward in the development of parliamentary democracy in this Region.

"Those who studied closely the political situation in the North for the first five years, during which period many protests were made locally and several delegations went to the Colonial Office agitating for electoral reforms, will no doubt appreciate the way the Government has become alive to public opinion by introducing direct elections in the urban areas with a modified electoral college system in the rural areas."

Education and the West

The Government of the Western Region continues to give its active support for educational advancement. A further one-hundred post-secondary scholarships are to be awarded this year to qualified candidates of Western Nigerian origin. These will be tenable at institutions in Nigeria and overseas. The grant of 150 secondary school scholarships has also been approved by the Government.

Chief the Hon. J. A. O. Odebiyi, the Minister of Education is now visiting the United States and Canada, accompanied by

the Permanent Secretary, Mr. R. W. Ennis. During this tour, the Minister will discuss with major American Educational Foundations the possibility of aid in the form of capital, equipment and staff for the higher educational institutions in the region. (*News From Nigeria*, September 8, 1956.)

Sierra Leone

Proposals for New Constitution

THE Sierra Leone Government's proposals for constitutional changes provide for a new Legislative Assembly of fifty-seven members to be known as the House of Representatives. If these proposals, which have been submitted to the Colonial Secretary, are adopted, the Governor will cease to be President, although he retains the right to convene and address the House. Instead of seven elected members from the Colony and fourteen from the Protectorate, it is proposed to have fourteen from the Colony and thirty-seven from the Protectorate, of whom twelve would be Paramount Chiefs. The official side, which consists of seven ex-officio members and two members nominated by the Governor, would be reduced by three.

The Times (August 25, 1956) commented that "although these proposals were accepted without any trouble by the Legislative Council, a certain section of the Opposition, particularly the National Council of Sierra Leone, has been making much propaganda against them recently. Telegrams have been sent to various destinations, including *The Times* which seem intended to show the existence of a state of near-revolt. The latest urges that 'no constitution should or could be approved without taking into consideration the Cox Commission Report'. This alludes to a report, not yet issued, of the commission to study the causes of strikes in the territory, and to make recommendations. It will not be directly concerned with constitutional matters, but the Opposition are obviously hoping that it will contain criticism of the Government's handling of the disturbances which took place last year and at the beginning of this year.

"The main opposition comes from the Colony, which has been losing its old predominance over the much larger and more populous Protectorate as this develops in prosperity. The differences between the Colony and the Protectorate are chiefly economic, and to some extent, racial and cultural. The Colony lives largely by trade and commerce, the Protectorate by agriculture. Many of the inhabitants of the Colony are descended from freed slaves who settled there more than one hundred years ago; the Protectorate is peopled by tribal Africans."

CENTRAL AFRICA Southern Rhodesia

Territorial and Federal Powers¹

THE Southern Rhodesia Parliament unanimously agreed to send a delegation composed of Members chosen jointly by the Prime Minister, Mr. R. S. Garfield Todd, and the Leader of the

¹Digest IV, 1.

Opposition, Mr. R. O. Stockil, to make proposals to the Federal Government about closer co-operation among the four Governments in the Federation, and the attainment of dominion status for the Federation.

Mr. Todd said: "I don't think we can be blamed if we stand aghast when we are confronted by certain political developments in the Northern territories of the Federation." He said there were many primitive and half-educated Africans in Northern Rhodesia who really believed that the African National Congress was their Government. There was no doubt that the strength behind the Congress was the boycott, the strike, intimidation and witchcraft.

"If dominion status is good for New Zealand and the Gold Coast; if it is set down in the Federal Constitution as the legitimate aim of the Federation, then I believe it is good for the Africans, the Europeans, all in the Federation. I will be prepared fully to consult and work together to attain that dominion status." (*Rhodesia Herald*, August 10, 1956.)

Mr. Todd said that the security of the Federation was being threatened, and he compared the state of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland today with the position of Kenya in 1943. He added that a Federal Police Force should be stationed throughout the Federation.

In interviews with the press, Mr. Todd said: "If the four Governments—one Federal and three Territorial—are to carry on, the sooner the four Governments are under Prime Ministers, and the four Prime Ministers under one Governor-General, the better. I realize that even in a unitary form of Government there would have to be some system of decentralization, with Provincial Councils or something of that kind. But I would stress today that what is more important than the machinery of Government is the spirit of co-operation behind it." (*Sunday Mail*, August 5, 1956.)

At a Party level, an attempt is to be made to heal the breach between the United Rhodesia Party led by Mr. Garfield Todd, and the Federal Party led by Lord Malvern¹. . . In the opinion of the Federal Party's organ *Federal Outlook*, Mr. Todd is committing political suicide. It says he should stand with Lord Malvern's party and even enter it on whatever terms are available. The paper admits that half of Mr. Todd's complaints are justified, but it says everyone in Rhodesia knows that. (*South Africa*, August 11, 1956.)

Deportations from Southern Rhodesia

The Governor of Southern Rhodesia has prohibited the residence in Southern Rhodesia of three members of the African National Congress by virtue of an Act which authorizes the removal from the Colony of people born in Northern Rhodesia or Nyasaland if there is reasonable ground to believe that they may engage in activities likely to endanger the security, peace, order, or tranquillity of the Colony or promote hostility between sections of the community. The men concerned are Mr. J. C. W. Malifa, president of the Salisbury branch of the Nyasaland African Congress, who has lived in Southern Rhodesia for thirty-one years; Mr. Dunduzak Chisiza, also a member of the Nyasaland African Congress, and Mr. Andrew P. Banda, president of the Bulawayo Branch of the Northern Rhodesian African Congress. (*East Africa and Rhodesia*, August 9, 1956.)

In an editorial headed "Deportation: The Easy Way", the *African Weekly* (August 1, 1956), said that the Government had

¹DIGEST IV, 1.

dropped something like a bombshell: "To us it appears that, whatever the intentions of the Government were in taking this decision, it has used the wrong method. The deported men will now go home (Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia) to show the open wounds inflicted on them by the Southern Rhodesia Government, and every member of the African public will come to lick the wounds in sympathy. Such a state of affairs will only give a fillip to the exclusive African nationalism which is rising in these territories. Other facts on the debit side of this decision are that it will increase the anti-S. Rhodesia and therefore anti-Federation feeling in the minds of the Africans in the North, and may also lead to a general lack of goodwill in Southern Rhodesia Africans.

The Salisbury Branch of the Inter-Racial Association issued a statement deploring the Government's attitude, in which it was stated: "(a) Action of this kind almost invariably has the opposite effect to that intended, by making martyrs of those affected, and in this case will, in addition, increase the suspicion of Southern Rhodesia which exists in the Northern Territories.

"(b) The action is taken under a law which absolves the Government from proving any offence or disclosing its grounds, and prohibits those affected from access to the Courts—typical features of totalitarian legislation.

"(c) The law also relies on the fact that those concerned happen to have been born in Northern Rhodesia or Nyasaland, which is a purely technical point in the case of at least one of them who has been here for thirty-one years. This action will detract from rather than promote a feeling of unity amongst the people of the Federation. 'We believe that nothing short of positive democratic measures will be effective in overcoming racialism'." (*African Weekly*, August 1, 1956.)

The mass meeting of the Southern Rhodesia National Youth League, attended by some 1,000 people in Salisbury, also protested. Mr. Chisiza, one of the three Africans to be deported, told the meeting that he had thought S. Rhodesia had sixty-two Segregatory Acts, now he had found there was another—The Inter-Territorial Movement of Persons (Control) Act, 1956. "It is discriminatory in that only Africans have fallen victims to it," he said. "We are being externed because we are members of the Congress. No other reasons are given apart from this. If this indicates that the authorities are opposed to the objectives of Congress, I am afraid they are fighting a losing battle." (*African Weekly*, August 1, 1956.) In a letter to the *Sunday Mail* (August 12, 1956) E. Sithole said: "It is obvious that the Government is trying to throw a wave of terror among the African politicians in S. Rhodesia and Central Africa as a whole, in order to shutter their public opinion and freedom of speech. . . . The Government of S. Rhodesia is encouraging the influx of labour from Nyasaland, so why bar the leaders of that labour?"

Mr. T. D. T. Banda, secretary-general of the Nyasaland African Congress, was subsequently served with a deportation order requiring him to leave S. Rhodesia within forty-eight hours. (*The Times*, September 7, 1956.)

The *Observer* (September 9, 1956) commenting on this "habit of banishing politicians from the neighbouring territories," said: "It is disturbing that one of the partners of the Central African Federation should develop a policy of denying free inter-territorial movement within the federal boundaries. By seeking to isolate African leaders the S. Rhodesian Government is acting no differently from the S. African Government.

The inevitable effect will be to give further stimulus to the already strong secessionist tendencies in Nyasaland and N. Rhodesia."

Subversive Activities Act Extended

The Southern Rhodesian Parliament has agreed to extend the operation of the Subversive Activities Act for another three years. The Act among other things provides for "the prohibition and suppression of subversive propaganda whether called by the name of Communism, Fascism, or otherwise."

Mr. H. H. Holderness (United Rhodesia Party), said that since 1953, when the extension of the Act was last agreed to by Parliament, the Public Order Act had been introduced. Under this Act, the Government had power to deal with any matter referred to in the preamble of the Subversive Activities Act, and he saw no reason for enforcing both of them. In reply the Minister said it was true that the Public Order Act covered a wide field, but as recently as last year, the House had amended the Subversive Activities Act, and in principle had approved it then.

Included in the provisions of the Act, is that for the "control of movements of persons who promote feelings of hostility between certain sections of the community or spread subversive propaganda." It also provides for the "deportation of certain persons under this Act; for the creation of offences relating to interference with persons in employment; and for purposes incidental to the foregoing matters." (*Rhodesia Herald*, August 1, 1956.)

Government Policy on African Progress

The Territorial Prime Minister, Mr. Garfield Todd, told the Southern Rhodesia Christian Conference that the present Government was definitely committed to development and progress for all people. "I believe that such principles will remain dominant in the political life of our country so long as our African people are prepared to maintain their enviable record for observance of the law, their readiness to negotiate and not strike and their commendable spirit of co-operation," he said.

"We are concerned, as a Government, not so much with White or Black but with seeing that people who get the vote are responsible people and worthy to wield the power which the vote gives."

Industrial development would mean a continuously rising standard of living for all people. He believed that capital and the necessary resources were available for this development, but who was going to do the work? Out of the 600,000 people working in Rhodesia nine-tenths were Africans and of these a little more than half came from outside Southern Rhodesia. This labour position, from the employers' point of view, was unsound. Industry realized the danger and recognized that African labour was becoming more expensive, more difficult to get, and must be made better use of.

There was no doubt that the future pattern would mean larger holdings for Africans in the reserves, development of African housing alongside industry and the complete passing of what was known as the African way of life in villages today. Mr. Todd said that Southern Rhodesia was breaking away from the communal way of life and had definitely decided that its rural native areas would not be run by a number of Native Authorities. "Such authorities, with their own police and own courts, are back in the last century as far as we are concerned."

Africans who sat on judicial benches would do so, not because they were hereditary chiefs, but because they had taken training as lawyers and magistrates.

"We have set our standards as high as possible, and if we do open our door to Africans I believe that eventually they will be glad that we kept our standards high and did not make it ridiculously easy for them. They will then be able to do honour to the posts when they eventually fill them." (*Rhodesia Herald*, August 28, 1956.)

African Housing and Nutrition

Miss Mona H. Doss, Nutrition and Home Economics Adviser to the Food and Agricultural Organization of the U.N., said that the Government in Rhodesia had done a good job dealing with housing and soil conservation problems, but had not yet realized the economic importance of nutrition. Malnutrition was the main cause of the life expectancy of Africans in S. Rhodesia being only a little more than half that of European workers. More than 80 per cent of the African diet consisted of maize. They should be encouraged to grow and eat more beans, peas, other vegetables, fish, dairy products and molasses. (*The African Eagle*, August 7, 1956.)

Col. G. H. Hartley, the municipal director of Native Administration in Salisbury, said that there was no cause for complacency with the African housing position, especially "with Kariba in the offing." The number of Africans in employment is increasing at the rate of 2,000 a year. At present the Municipal Council needed about 9,000 additional single and married units to meet current demands. Work would start soon on a new African township covering 2,000 acres at Crowborough. (*Rhodesia Herald*, August 14, 1956.)

African Farmers Meet

Delegates at the annual conference of the African Farmers' Union heard the president Mr. Aaron Jacha ask why all of the land development fund was being spent in the Reserves, and so little in the Native Purchase areas. "We are not settlers from outside the country who come to mine and then leave the land almost desert," he said. Mr. Jacha also complained that while prices of farm implements were soaring above the means of African farmers, the price he got for grain was artificially lowered to suit the consumer. Mr. P. B. Fletcher, Minister of Native Affairs said that the implementation of the Native Land Husbandry Act¹ was so occupying all the staff of his ministry that they had been able to pay little attention to the Purchase Areas. (*Rhodesia Herald*, September, 1 1956.)

Nyasaland

African Legco. Members Attack

THE new Governor of Nyasaland, Sir Robert Armitage, when opening the Legislative Council said "that African leaders would be more closely associated with forming and implementing Government policies. This would be done by bringing them more on to boards and committees; explaining and discussing policies at district and provincial council levels; by holding regular meetings at these levels with prominent Africans not necessarily members of boards; and by discussion between

¹Digest III, 2. and IV, 1.

Executive Council members and African members of the Legislative Council." (*The Times*, July 10, 1956.)

In the subsequent debate on the budget, all five African members took every opportunity to protest against the Federation and the land policy of the Nyasaland Government. The protests included an attack by Mr. H. Chipembere on increased industrialization. A comment in the *African Weekly* (July 18, 1956) said: "Sweet words, political slogans and fiery speeches will not provide the masses of Nyasaland with good food to eat, clothes to put on and work to do. In our eyes whether there is a White-men, Black-men or Yellow-men government in Nyasaland, one of its most urgent and pressing problems will be to industrialize the country so that its 3 million people can eke out a living on its few acres of comparatively poor soil . . . We see that Mr. Chipembere's objection to industrialization is that it will bring more and more Europeans to the country, because they are the ones with the technique and capital. The realization of that fact is an important point and one that should be kept in mind in Nyasaland politics today. The country needs capital, technicians and industry."

Nyasaland African Congress

Commenting on the statement issued by Mr. Harry Nkumbula, the President of the Northern Rhodesian Congress,¹ the *Nyasaland Times* (August 10, 1956) urged leaders of the Nyasaland African Congress to take notice of this new development. " . . . the Nyasaland Congress could equally assure us that it intends to work for good race relations. For its own sake, it cannot remain aloof from what seems to be a new moderate trend in African political thought." (August 10, 1956.)

Sir Geoffrey Colby, who has just retired from the governorship of Nyasaland, said at a meeting in London: "The Nyasaland African Congress is a rather seditious organization, difficult to deal with, given to shouting and not representative of the vast majority of the African population." During the course of his address, Sir Geoffrey said: "Two-thirds of the population in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland are lukewarm or hostile. A very great effort must be made to carry those Africans with us. In the next five to ten years we should devote a disproportionate amount of development money to the two northern territories, especially their rural areas. The hands of administrators in contact with the Africans would then be greatly strengthened in countering malicious, and even seditious, anti-Federation propaganda, which is still being put across."

Nyasaland Trades Union Congress

The Nyasaland Trades Union Congress held its initial meeting. Mr. M. B. C. Mussah, Vice General Secretary, said that the Congress would try to affiliate to the British T.U.C. and to the International Federation of Free Trade Unions. The Nyasaland T.U.C. has four affiliated Unions; the Nyasaland Motor Workers' Union, the Nyasaland African Commercial Workers' Union, Nyasaland African Railway Workers' Union and the Asian Workers' Union.

Mr. Mussah said that they were grateful for the help received from eminent trade unionists overseas in drafting the constitution; two difficulties he foresaw were, firstly, the ignorance of non-Africans in Nyasaland about trade unionism with the result that they connected it with rabble-rousing, and, secondly, Africans themselves did not seem to appreciate what

a trade union could do for them. (*African Weekly*, July 11, 1956.)

The *Nyasaland Times* (August 3, 1956), cautiously welcoming the T.U.C. said: "Its formation is, we hope, a progressive step towards good management-labour relationships which are in themselves a move forward in the economic advancement of the backward races of this country . . . A sensible appreciation of economic factors in Nyasaland and sober negotiations for the improvement of working conditions and wages where necessary—these should be the aims of the T.U.C. It will earn respect or disapproval by the way in which it carries them out."

Delay on Shire Valley Scheme¹

The *Nyasaland Times* expressed its disappointment over the Federal Government's proposed spending of only £250,000 on the development of the Shire Valley Scheme over the next two years. Apart from the danger, the delay would mean additional difficulty and cost.

"In two years, today's eagerness to have the scheme in operation may be blunted, industrialists who have been waiting to open up factories here driven by Shire power may look elsewhere, the development of Blantyre-Limbe may be retarded and, in fact, the whole economic future of the Southern Province may be jeopardized."

Mineral Discoveries

Radio-active sands north of Fort Johnston are being examined by experts. They are thought to contain elements yielding titanium, thorium and uranium.

Coal resources estimated at 14 million tons are also reported from Nkana on the northern border of Nyasaland. The Colonial Development Corporation is investigating coal deposits in Tanganyika, which are part of the same field, and the results of the investigations are awaited in Nyasaland. (*Nyasaland Times*, August 3 and 7, 1956.)

Proposals to revise Land Tenure

The Nyasaland Government announced that it would put two main proposals for a land tenure system to the three Provincial Councils, after talks with African Legislative Council Members and African Federal M.Ps. One proposal aims at securing tenure in peri-urban areas and larger centres for "thousands of Africans who today derive no satisfactory security in the customary conditions of land tenure in non-rural areas." The second proposal is to permit the inheritance of property by wills on land not held under tribal custom.

African Wages

Mr. D. H. McCalman, Provincial Labour Officer commenting on the beneficial trend of wages for African workers resulting from the influx of new firms and contractors from the Union and the Rhodesias gave examples of the rates paid in rural areas which are "far in excess of those generally offered by local organizations."

At Chileka a labourer receives from 2s. to 5s. a day, an artisan 5s., a plant operator up to 12s. and an overseer about 13s. At Chingalumu a driver receives 4s., a labourer up to 3s. 10d. and a builder 3s. 4d. At Domasi a driver receives 9s. 6d. a day. At Liwonde, where they are constructing a bund, builders are paid up to 3s. 11d. and a driver up to 11s. All these

¹p. 59

¹DIGEST IV, 1.

are consolidated daily wages. (*Rhodesia Herald*, August 17, 1956.)

The Federation

Full Independence Refused

Lord Malvern, the Federal Prime Minister, introduced a motion to the Federal Assembly that the House should consider the talks he had held with the British Government and consider "what steps should be taken in regard to the future status of the Federal state." He said that it was on the understanding that the Federal state could, in its own sphere, advance in constitutional status to complete independence, irrespective of the position of the three constituent territories, which would have their own separate and direct relationship with the British Government, that he had signed the original Federation White Paper. He continued:—

"We have now been going on for about two and a half years with the Federal state in its own sphere being to all practical effect quite independent. I would not have thought of raising the question of our status so soon had it not been for developments in other parts of the Commonwealth. Other countries in Africa and other Federations elsewhere are rapidly approaching independence either within or without the Commonwealth—much more quickly than we would all have thought two or three years ago. It now seems likely that in the near future other countries will have an international status that would entitle them shortly to apply for full membership of the Commonwealth and thereby gain a higher status than ours, both internationally and in the Commonwealth, despite the fact that we, in this part of the world, both through the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia and through the Prime Minister of the Federation, have been represented at Commonwealth conferences for over twenty years."

He said that he made proposals which would not have affected the position of the territories, but which would have improved the international status of the Federation vis-à-vis other countries outside the Federation. Misrepresentation took place after a leak of information in London and it was automatically assumed that he had been trying to get the U.K. to relinquish what control they have over the Protectorates. His proposals had been turned down but the U.K. Government had agreed to submit further proposals of their own.

Lord Malvern said that one strong reason underlying the U.K. Government's attitude to his "very reasonable requests" was "that there has been a deliberate campaign in the Colonial Office and the Colonial Service circles to represent every proposal by the Federal Government as being a step to get amalgamation by the back door. This is a most poisonous suggestion and without any shadow of foundation . . . I do not think that we could ever get very far with people who feel we are out to behave in such a dishonest way." (*Federal Hansard*, August 2, 1956.)

Lord Malvern's statement provoked a variety of reactions. Mr. G. Van Eeden, leader of the Commonwealth Party, said that the Government had "asked for too little in London and got precisely nothing". Mr. N. A. Wilson, of the Dominion Party said: "We of the Dominion Party seek revision of the Constitution, not merely to secure authority in external affairs.

We are determined on the elimination of the Colonial Office." (*Rhodesia Herald*, August 4, 1956).

Three elected European members of the Nyasaland Legislative Council supported Lord Malvern's request and regretted its rejection. However, Mr. W. M. Chirwa (African representative) said that Nyasaland Africans were perturbed at the suggestion that the Federation should obtain Dominion status. (*Nyasaland Times*, August 7, 1956.)

The *Rhodesia Herald*, calling the refusal of the proposal a "slap in the face" referred to H.M.G. as "a gutless crew" and asserted that almost to a man the electorate of the whole Federation desired that all ties with the Colonial Office should be cut. The *Sunday Mail* (August 5, 1956) said it was a serious setback, and continued: . . . "It is little short of an affront that a country which in many respects is infinitely more civilized and more democratic than the Gold Coast and Nigeria (where at least one M.P. had been eaten by his constituents) should be expected to take a subordinate position to those territories in Commonwealth councils." It emphasized: "Unless the Federal Government gets complete control of its own affairs soon, sufficient mischief may be created by the African Congress to make it virtually unattainable." The *Nyasaland Times* (August 7, 1956) commented "Like children we are told to await the modified suggestions that will drop like crumbs from the Whitehall table . . . the future of the Federation depends on a handful of British voters. This situation more than anything else shows the Federation must put itself into an impregnable position as a Dominion before it can achieve its full economic potential or work out its racial partnership policy. The bonds that tie Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia to the Colonial Office must be cut and the aim must be democratic, responsible government in those countries."

London's *The Times* (August 13, 1956) in an editorial comment on the motion before the Southern Rhodesian Parliament seeking an advance in the constitutional status of the Federation, said: "The theoretic power of Great Britain to intervene remains a symbol and a guarantee. Federation was supported by a majority of the settler population of Southern Rhodesia, who looked to the economic advantages of consolidation with the protectorates of N. Rhodesia and Nyasaland, as an alternative to ultimate union with South Africa. For the sake of these advantages they were prepared for the continuance of substantial powers in the Colonial Secretary in relation to those areas. It is evident that African opinion in the northern territories is still suspicious of any increase in the status of the Federal Government. It may well be that suspicion of settler intentions is unjustified; but until the settlers can so persuade Africans it remains a political factor that must be taken into account."

The Federal Parliament, by twenty-two votes to nine, adopted an amended resolution, fully endorsing the steps taken by Lord Malvern.

Lord Malvern said that he had made particular inquiries when the Federal constitution was first being discussed about the position of protectorates, because "there are other Protectorates in Southern Africa, and there is no hope of the House of Commons ever surrendering them as far as one can see. Therefore I had to take good care that if we federated with those Protectorates it was not going to prevent the Federal State as such, becoming a sovereign state one day."

He added that he had been particularly influenced by the developments in the Sudan. "They gave the Southern Bantu

to the very different racial group in the northern Sudan. Then they retired in an odour of smug sanctity. They produced a rebellion, and a repeat of the Black Hole of Calcutta. Yet the same people will not trust the Europeans in this part of the world . . . I admit that this fine effort in the Sudan was done under the latest political slogan, called self-determination, one of the most fallacious contributions to the modern tendency to govern by slogans. It has no application in Africa, as the Europeans divided up Africa on geographical, not racial lines."

Lord Malvern gave an account of the constitutional discussions which had been held at the time of the drawing up of the preamble to the Federal constitution and said: "At the final interview I had with the Secretary of State for the Colonies before I left London the other day he admitted that it was legally possible for the Federal State to be independent within its sphere of influence, although it contained the Protectorates."

In conclusion Lord Malvern said: "There is a feeling in some quarters that in a review of the Constitution the U.K. must be in a position to crack the whip. Probably some people hope there will be a Labour Government in power, which will then either break up the Federation or do something silly. It would be unjust to the Labour Government to imagine any such thing. It was a Labour Government that agreed to the principle of federation . . . You cannot make people do things unless they wish to, except by force, and one of the curious things about our Constitution is this: we have complete control of our Defence Force. I only hope we shall not have to use it as the North American Colonies had to use theirs because we are dealing with a stupid Government in the U.K. . . ."

"Having been a little terse about the U.K. Government, I would like to repeat . . . what I strove for was to improve our international status. It is not agreed. All right: forget about it. We cannot afford to have a row about any of these things at present. Our job is to consolidate our position economically, to advance our people as we do so, and when we are strong enough we do not care, because nobody can stop us doing what we like."

Lord Malvern to Retire?

The *Sunday Mail's* Political Correspondent (September 2, 1956), said that Lord Malvern was expected to resign as Prime Minister, probably some time in October, and that he was preparing to hand over to Sir Roy Welensky.

Opposition to Federation

The *African Home News* (July 21, 1956), commenting on an article in the *Bulawayo Sunday News*, which criticized African leaders "who know and believe that Federation has brought advantages to their fellows" because "they are too quiet: they are not energetic enough: they are not doing their duty . . .", said: "Although there are some Africans in the Federation who are opposed to Federation for one reason or another, the fact of the matter is that Federation in the abstract is a good thing. But the Central African Federation is bad, through and through, because it seeks to advantage Europeans at the expense of Africans and no sensible African leader with the real interests of his people at heart would ever tolerate that condition of affairs."

Mr. W. M. Chirwa, Nyasaland African member of the Federal Parliament, sent a telegram at the beginning of August to Mr. Lennox-Boyd, the Colonial Secretary, saying that

Nyasaland Africans opposed dominion status for the Rhodesian Federation and that they desired secession. They were "determined to achieve self-government by constitutional means as soon as possible."

In an interview, Mr. M. W. K. Chiume, an elected African Member of the Nyasaland Legislative Council, said that recent events and utterances had made the opposition to Federation of the Nyasaland African Congress more intense. Mr. Kwenje, M.L.C., said one reason for the Congress's opposition to Federation was that, under the treaty by which Nyasaland had been proclaimed a protectorate, Africans were to be trained till such time as they could rule themselves. Mr. Kwenje added that the Capricorn Africa Society's aims were "to bluff Britain that they want to look after the African in Central Africa as the equal of the European."

Commenting on the prohibition orders served by the S. Rhodesian Government on two representatives of the Nyasaland African Congress and one of the N. Rhodesian African National Congress (see p. 51) Mr. W. M. Chirwa said that it was a clear indication that the country was drifting towards a police state. Fears of Nyasaland Africans about Federation with Southern Rhodesia were being more and more justified. (*Rhodesia Herald*, July 27, 1956.)

Speaking at Monkey Bay, Nyasaland, on the occasion of the launching of the Federal Government's first ship on Lake Nyasa, Sir Roy Welensky said that a relatively small group of African leaders was working to break up the Federation, so that Nyasaland could resume its former status. He said that they were doing this simply because they thought that they would then stand a better chance of obtaining a personal grip over the country. "They claim that the majority of African people in Nyasaland are behind them, but I wonder if that is so. It can only be so if the majority of Africans do not understand exactly what their leaders intend should happen. What they really propose is the reversion of Nyasaland to stagnation." (*The Times*, August 13, 1956.)

Britain Wanted as Protector

Mr. Dauti Yamba, Federal African M.P. for Northern Rhodesia, said that a Northern Rhodesia African Congress delegation would ask the Imperial Government to "put it in black and white" whether they wished to remain the protector of the African people of the North. If they did not wish to remain their protector then "we can look for another protector."

"They say there is a beautiful state of affairs here with the Southern Rhodesia Native. They tell us how nice he is—how lovely—how holy . . . But they forget one thing, that the sleeping dog will one day be awakened, and when that dog is awakened it will be worse than anything in the world. The only remedy to make that dog sleep a little more is to give it its demands. Let the Southern Rhodesia African be represented in the Territorial Parliament directly and not indirectly. Let him take part in making his own laws."

Mr. Mateyo Kakumbi (Federal African M.P. for Northern Rhodesia), said the time had come when persons under British protection must be fully enfranchised. "Our intention is not to drive one European away from Northern Rhodesia. That would be just impossible. But our intention is to run the Government on an equal basis." There was no place in Northern Rhodesia for any European who hurt an African. Equally there was no place for the Africans who held that Africans must rule. "We

can only achieve a proper Government if people of all races co-operate." (*Rhodesia Herald*, August 20, 1956.)

Opportunities for Non-Europeans in Public Service

The Federation is to have one Federal Public Service open to any person domiciled in the country irrespective of race or creed, announced Lord Malvern, the Prime Minister, in the Federal Assembly. But the non-European would have to prove his worth to attain parity with the European. Lord Malvern outlined a scheme in which there will be four branches, ranging from orderlies and guards in the lowest category to the highly trained personnel in Branch One. He said that, for the time being, the top branch would be limited to Europeans, with the exception that a non-European doctor could be appointed to this grade on parity with a European doctor.

Lord Malvern said the great majority of the existing non-European staff of some 12,000 persons would fall naturally in Branches Three and Four and the rest into Branch Two. There might, he said, at first sight appear to be an inconsistency between the statement that there would be one Service irrespective of race or creed and the proposed division into branches initially almost entirely on a racial basis. However, the facts had to be faced and it could not be avoided that at the start all Europeans would be in the top branch and most of the non-Europeans in the remaining branches. The structure provided for the movement from one branch to another, and in the foreseeable future the top branch should contain a number of non-Europeans, either by direct entry or by promotion. The intention was that there should be one Civil Service; not a European, African, Coloured and an Asian Service . . .

Sir John Moffat, chairman of the African Affairs Board, commented: "First-rate. It is a practical application of the principles we are supposed to be working on in the Federation." Mr. Jasper Savanhu (African Member for Mashonaland) declared: "Marvellous. It puts the African on the bottom rung of the Service, and says it is then up to him to climb the ladder." Mr. Dauti Yamba (African Member for Northern Rhodesia) said: "I would like time in which to study the statement before making any definite comment, but what the Federal Government proposes doing seems a step in the right direction." (*Federation Newsletter*, September 1, 1956.)

Federal Franchise and Representation

In an article in the *Rhodesia Herald* (August 23, 1956), Mr. L. M. N. Hodson, Q.C., M.P. put forth his own ideas for Federal franchise and representation.

"There should be a common roll, based on property and educational qualifications, similar to those applicable in Southern Rhodesia, with possibly a little broadening of the field to include those who have done public work of value though they are not very good at writing out forms of application. Each voter would have one vote. The main innovation to suit our particular circumstances and to provide a means of getting away from any kind of nomination of people to represent sectional interests would be to introduce a constituency represented by two members—one African and one non-African."

He suggested that about fifteen years should be taken for all constituencies to be represented in this way. He also suggested enlarging the Assembly, and a gradual redistribution of seats so that each of the three Territories would have twenty-four.

Points from Debates in Federal Assembly

The Budget Debate in the Federal Assembly covered a wide range of topics, many of them concerned with racial questions. Mr. D. Yamba (N. Rhodesia), attacking a statement made by Sir Roy Welensky, the Deputy Prime Minister,¹ said: ". . . I am perfectly sure and I am sure the whole of the Federation as far as the African people is concerned, is with me, when I say we shall never, never wait for one hundred years to come before we find a number of African Cabinet Ministers." It was mere cheating by the Central African settlers that they should continue to dominate the African population. He said that in Central Africa they would never be faced with Mau Mau." (*Federal Hansard*, July 19, 1956.)

Mr. Foot (Nyasaland), while referring to this "claptrap" about the settlers in Mr. Yamba's speech, said he understood the background to the speech, with its series of disappointments and rejected claims.

In his reply, Sir Roy Welensky said that his statement (that the African should be given more say in the running of his country, as and when he shows his ability to contribute more to the general good . . . but we must make it clear that even when that day comes, in 100 or 200 years time, he shall never hope to dominate the Federation) was made to refute charges that the Federal Government and Party was "selling the Europeans down the river." He thought his reply was not unreasonable and that any person or organization with any political knowledge would have considered it reasonable, with the exception of "racially-minded Africans." He also said that the African M.Ps. would be misleading their people if they believed there was ever likely to be adult suffrage purely on a basis of a count of heads. The Prime Minister, Lord Malvern, intervened in the debate and expressed the hope that the mine management on the Copperbelt would be extremely firm over the dispute there. He added that the recognition of the African Mine Officials' and Salaried Staff Association was an essential feature in the policy of the Federal Government, which was to build up a responsible African middle class. (*Federal Hansard*, July 30.)

Sir Roy Welensky also said that the Congress movement which was represented in Parliament, was bent on striking body blows by both strikes and boycotts. He believed that recent events in the Federal Assembly, the demands for African self-government in Nyasaland, for a purely African self-government, the strikes and boycotts in N. Rhodesia, and many of the completely irresponsible statements that had been made, had put the clock back. (*Federal Hansard*, August 2.)

Mr. W. M. Chirwa (Nyasaland) introduced a motion asking that suitably qualified African employees in the Posts and Telegraph Department be permitted to participate in the training course conducted in Salisbury. The Minister of Posts, Sir Roy Welensky, rejected the suggestion and said he was prepared to provide facilities to train new African engineers as soon as some could be found to qualify for a course and to justify the expenditure. This course would be similar to the one referred to. Mr. Chirwa refused to withdraw his motion since he said that by so doing he would be "supporting the Government in its policy of *apartheid*", which he did not accept . . . Four African members (from N. Rhodesia and Nyasaland) alone voted for the motion which was negatived.

Another motion negatived was that of Mr. Kakumbi (N.

¹Digest III, 7.

Rhodesia) asking for a stopping of the immigration of semi-skilled and unskilled Europeans. Mr. Owen, Minister of Home Affairs, said that the policy of the Government was to absorb as many immigrants as it could, having due regard to the economy and general welfare of all people in the Federation. They did not intend to deny Africans advancement by bringing in unskilled Europeans.

Kariba Finance and Contracts

Of the contracts so far awarded, the main one for the construction of the Kariba Dam, to a value of £25½ million was given to an Italian firm, and the second largest for almost £10 million, for power lines, to a firm which contains a large Italian participation; part of this will be sub-contracted to a British firm.

Commissioned Ranks for Africans

Sir John Moffat, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the African Affairs Board, in a report presented to the Federal Parliament, said that the Board were of the opinion that the Defence (Regular Force) (African Members) Regulations¹ published this year were a differentiating measure. The Regulations subjected African members of the Forces to conditions disadvantageous to them, to which Europeans were not submitted. No provision was made for the promotion of Africans through the ranks to commissioned rank.

The Federal Government announced that it intended to promote Africans to commissioned rank "as and when suitable material is available."

The report on discriminatory treatment was the first one submitted by the African Affairs Board since it started work two and a half years ago. (*East African Standard*, July 6, 1956.)

Telephone Conversations Tapped

Inquiries at the Johannesburg Post Office revealed that telephone calls between members of the African National Congress in the Union and members of Congress in the Federation had been recorded by the police. A C.I.D. spokesman in Salisbury said that telephone calls between the two countries had not been tapped by the British South African police. (*Salisbury Citizen*, August 10, 1956.)

Capricorn Denial

The Capricorn Africa Society denied the truth of a statement issued by the Dominion Party that Lord Malvern, the Federal Prime Minister and his deputy, Sir Roy Welensky, were members of the society. It claimed that the Dominion Party was misinformed about its activities and its composition: "With regard to the Dominion Party's denouncement of the Capricorn Africa Society and its declared aim of curbing the society's growth, the C.A.S. looks forward to this body's efforts to frustrate the gathering momentum of Capricorn's activities and public support." (*Rhodesia Herald*, August 21, 1956.)

University Prospects

Dr. Walter Adams, the principal of the University College, said that there had been fifty-five applications from prospective students, twelve of them Africans, including one woman². It was likely, he said, that fifty or so students would have a

¹Digest III, 3.

²Digest IV, 1.

teaching staff of nearly thirty in the first year; this "tailor-made tutorial staff to work out the first stage" was a good thing. "I believe that we will find a national way of living together. We will make mistakes, but with common sense, good sense and the absence of fear, we shall see our way through." Dr. Adams added that problems could not be solved by laying down a set of rules. "We cannot make a rule, for instance, that a black man does not dance with a white girl. I do not know what the answer will be so far as a swimming bath goes, although we will not have a swimming-bath in the first year." (*Rhodesia Herald*, August 16, 1956.)

African Co-operatives

Mr. J. H. West, in a paper to the Rhodesian Economic Society said: "Experience has shown that the detailed management of this type of society, running a multiplicity of lines and demanding a high standard of book-keeping, is beyond the capacity of all but a few African committees."

"Neither skill, nor management, nor the energy and determination necessary to success are normally present. The standard of integrity among both committee men and storemen leaves much to be desired, and the till sometimes has an irresistible and fatal attraction."

Despite difficulties, the movement was growing in the Federation, and if African consumer societies had generally been unsuccessful, consolation could be found in the steady growth of producer societies. What few European societies had been formed had, on the whole, done very well.

In Northern Rhodesia last year the sales of all societies, the bulk of which were producer societies, amounted to £4½ million. The producer society movement generally had developed very rapidly, said Mr. West.

He added that the movement was very well suited to the African temperament and was likely in the future to make a major contribution to the economic life of the Federation. (*Rhodesia Herald*, August 22, 1956.)

Africans Moved at Kariba

Writing in the *Observer* (July 14, and 22, 1956), Mr. Cyril Dunn described the arrival in Lusaka of two African messengers, who had come hundreds of miles from the S. Rhodesian side of the Zambesi River to ask help from the African Congress. They came from two chiefs whose villages are now being moved because their lands will be flooded by the lake behind the Kariba hydro-electric power dam. He said: "The messengers told me that the men of their villages had been moved first, leaving women and children behind. They had walked all the way, carrying their possessions, and had slept three nights on the journey and reached the new lands on the fourth day. They were told that lorries could not be used because the ground was too rough. Most of the people did not want to move."

Their old tribal lands were good for their crops, but the new ones they said would be poor because the people already living there say they are always hungry. The Government had sent no machines to help, no huts had been supplied and the men were sleeping in the open.

Congress representatives were banned from the area. Mr. Dunn added: "Congress acknowledges that the Kariba project must now inevitably go forward, and that people must be moved out of the valley. But since Kariba is to be of such im-

mense value to the Central African Federation they feel everything possible should be done to help the people forced to migrate and all complaints freely investigated.

After a visit to a village of one of the valley Chiefs, Mr. Dunn said: "My impression is that on this side of the river—which is a British protectorate—White officials actually at work in the Valley are doing what they can to take the edge off the hardship for the uprooted Tonga . . . On the Southern Rhodesian side, which is even less accessible to visiting correspondents, people are being shifted much farther back and—if one may accept the word of Valley Tonga complainants who have made their way over here—with rather less concern for what they may think about it. But even on this side, district officers are up against problems aggravated by the fact that the Kariba Dam is going ahead before any of them has been solved."

Among the unsolved problems were the loss of the Zambesi's constant water supply to these people—the Chief's women were having to walk six miles to find it, and the Government had been slow in proceeding with boring,—the question of compensation, on which no decision had been made, and eradication of the tsetse fly.

Heart-ache would be caused by friends and relations being pushed apart by the lake and by the flooding of shrines of Tonga ancestors.

Mr. Dunn concluded: "Officials here say they are satisfied that in a few years' time the Valley Tonga will be much better off than they were before the migration, provided that agitators do not get among them and induce them to withhold their co-operation. Since few of them can have any clear idea of the reasons for this upheaval it is obvious to anyone who goes into the Valley that the utmost consideration for their welfare is essential from the start."

A special Correspondent of the *Rhodesia Herald* (August 21, 24 and 30, 1956) reported on the move of about 2,000 Africans from the south bank. By the middle of October another 4,500 will have gone to their new lands. The remaining 19,000 will be moved in 1957. He described the "ghost villages" of the Batonga tribesmen as the price of the hydro-electric project. Native commissioners and other officials of the S. Rhodesian Native Department have done their best to explain that the traditional lands of these people will be covered by a "mighty sea" but he said that some have been influenced by anti-move propaganda put out by the African National Congress in N. Rhodesia. "The Africans", the report continued, "naturally do not want to move to new country, but their opposition, open at any rate, has died. They are told where the best areas are, where there is arable land, where there is plenty of water. The Africans usually send off scouts to report on these areas, and then they move by lorries provided by the Government. Some of the Kraal heads selected fairly heavily infested tsetse areas, but then they are people who have lived in fly belts all their lives. Few of them own livestock for this reason, and in cases where the few may lose their animals, compensation will, it seems likely, be paid."

Northern Rhodesia

State of Emergency on Copperbelt

THE Acting Governor, Mr. A. T. Williams declared a state of emergency after months of unrest and strikes among the

organized African labour in the Copperbelt. European police from S. Rhodesia, riot platoons of Nyasaland Police and two African Companies of the King's Own African Rifles were, flown in. Thirty-three leaders of the African Mineworkers' Union were arrested including Mr. M. D. Nkoloma, the General Secretary. The President of the Union, Mr. L. Kati-lungu, returned from a visit to S. Rhodesia and called for an end of the strike action by his Union.

He emphasized in a statement that a return to work did not mean defeat. Negotiations, he said, could not be undertaken with the Chamber of Mines on any matters, and no representations could be made to the Government until the African miners returned to work. (*The Times*, September 18, 1956.)

The state of Emergency came a month after the mining companies had declared a dispute with the African Mineworkers' Union.

The Northern Rhodesia Government, after careful consideration, decided not to appoint a board of inquiry under the Industrial Conciliation Ordinance, but to institute an inquiry on a much wider basis and to appoint a commission of inquiry under the Commissions of Inquiry Ordinance, to undertake an investigation into the causes and circumstances of the disturbed industrial relations in the mining industry and make recommendations. (*Federation Newsletter*, August 25, 1956.)

The members of the Commission were announced as Sir Patrick Branigan, Q.C., a member of the Industrial Disputes Tribunal in the U.K.; Judge H. J. Hoffman of S. Rhodesia; and Major W. J. Donnelly. Both the latter two have acted as arbitrators or conciliators in industrial disputes in the two Rhodesias. (*Federation Newsletter*, September 1, 1956.)

Following this announcement Mr. Nkoloma said:—"There will be strikes and unrest until the African union is free to represent whom it wishes." In an editorial comment, the *Rhodesia Herald* (September 4, 1956) said that the A.M.U. had made it clear that it did not want the Branigan Commission and it would not co-operate with it. This economic sabotage had reached such a stage that the N. Rhodesian Government should consider declaring all strikes illegal until the Commission had made its recommendations.

Describing the background to the strikes and general unrest the *Economist*, (July 7, 1956) in a special article from a correspondent in Rhodesia, said that the strikes "brought into the open a long-simmering resentment, directed against the mining companies' African advancement scheme and their attempt to weaken the African Mineworkers' Union by fostering a rival Mines' African Staff Association . . . The companies maintain that the introduction of staff categories for advanced jobs and their representation through an employee organization not subjected to the dictates of the A.M.U. will stabilize the industry and make discipline more effective."

In a letter to *The Times* (August 17, 1956) Mr. Dixon Konkola, President of the Northern Rhodesia Trades Union Congress and African Railway Workers' Union, said: "The compulsory transfer of Africans moving up into the 'advanced' categories from the African Mine Workers' Union to the African Salaried Staff Association is a real threat to African unity. The A.S.S.A. has been too closely associated with mine managements in its first beginnings and its later development to allow the other workers to feel confident of its independence. It did not join the A.M.W.U. during the last strike and, in fact, helped the European miners to run 'black-leg' shifts to keep

some sort of production going. In fact, the A.S.S.A. has a clause in its constitution providing that its members shall not go on strike. Africans who refuse to transfer from the A.M.W.U. on 'advancement' are put in a 'pool gang' and employed on any labouring work regardless of their skills or special qualifications as medical orderlies or clerks.

"The union representing the mass of the workers has never felt it right to call a strike to bring benefits to a few at the top only. The A.M.W.U. has worked on the assumption that a general rise in African wages and the cost of African labour will force the companies to employ Africans on more skilled and responsible work. The advancement, they believed, would come out of the betterment of the whole body of African mine workers. This assumption, which has proved correct, has maintained unity except for the few who will not wait for a general advance before bettering themselves."

Mr. Godwin Lewanika, president of the Northern Rhodesian Mines African Staff Association, said: "Anyone opposing the Staff Association is blind and does not understand what is meant by African advancement. To oppose the association is to suggest the creation of a classless society on the Copperbelt. This does not exist anywhere in the world, not even in the African villages. How can supervisors and the men they supervise be loyal to the same organization?" He said it was wrong to think that simply because Africans were Africans they should all belong to one organization, but there was nothing to prevent the association and the union co-operating on matters of common interest. (*Manchester Guardian*, August 13, 1956.)

An *Observer* correspondent stated that the present situation could only be judged against the background of suspicion and friction that has been building up steadily since the establishment of the Central African Federation, and added: "In these circumstances the prolonged strike by the African Mine-workers' Union has become merged with the wider issues affecting politics in this part of the world . . . The decision to break the miners' strike by force may set back hopes for improving race relations expressed by Mr. Harry Nkumbula. Nor have matters been helped by recent speeches by the Prime Minister of the Federation, and his deputy, Sir Roy Welensky, in their campaign for 'technical independence' of the Central African Federation." (September 16, 1956.)

Congress Attacked in Legco.

Three African members voted against a motion, which was carried in the Legislative Council, that "Council considers the activities of the African National Congress to be of a character to warrant Government taking such steps as are necessary to give this House full information of the constitution, aims and motives of the Congress, and to give assurances that its activities will not be permitted to subvert the peace and good order of the Territory and all its peoples."

Mr. W. F. Rendall described the A.N.C. as a blatant political movement using the boycott for political purposes, with self-government as its aim; it had been encouraged by ill-balanced idealists in England. Mr. John Gaunt described Congress as actively subversive.

Mr. E.I.G. Unsworth, Acting Chief Secretary, said that Government would accept the request for an inquiry into the constitution, aims and objects of the Congress. Its objects were described as; (a) to promote the educational, political, econo-

mic and social advancement of Africans in full co-operation with the Central Government, local government, Native authorities, missionary societies, the African Representative Council, and such other organizations which have the welfare of the African at heart, save in matters which are detrimental to African interests; (b) apart from Government institutions, Congress will be a mouthpiece of the Africans; (c) to break the tribal bars by endeavouring to foster the spirit of unity amongst Africans so that no one tribe shall be inferior or superior in the eyes of Congress.

Mr. Unsworth continued: "Congress must mend its ways, must express its grievances constitutionally, must recognize that it was not the only body expressing African opinion and must understand that it was an offence to conspire to injure a man in his trade for political purposes. If things do not right themselves the Government would not hesitate to summon the the legislature to introduce new legislation; but active steps to foster goodwill were more important than legislation."

Mr. Harry Franklin, Member for Education and Social Services, said that there was a rather frothy alarmism in the country which forgot that there had been boycotts for something like twenty-five years. The president of Congress had agreed to stop the Lusaka boycott,¹ which he did, saying that he wanted Government to regard Congress as a respectable body concerned with the progress of the country and all its people. Mr. Franklin said that he had urged Congress leaders to accept his views. They said that they had resorted to boycotts because they were despised, rejected and reviled, and felt helpless and frustrated. Mr. Franklin added that Congress had between 60 per cent and 80 per cent support among Africans in the towns and a good deal of support in some rural areas, though little in others. He concluded: "I am not blind, as many people think I am, to African faults, but there are faults on our side and we have the civilizing mission. Ours is the greater duty. No ruling caste has ever survived which did not take into its ranks the emergent leaders of the masses. Let us get on with our policy of partnership more realistically."

Congress and Race Relations

Following a meeting between leading members of the African National Congress and members of the Legislative Council, Mr. Harry Nkumbula, president of the A.N.C., issued a statement pledging the Congress to work for better race relations in Northern Rhodesia.

Mr. Nkumbula's statement said: "On behalf of the African National Congress, I have no hesitation in confirming everything that Mr. Franklin said (in the Legislative Council). I realize in saying this that there are many things that the Congress must do which will take a little time. We must control our members and our branches better. We must control and educate on better lines our extremists. On both sides, both African and European, there is room for better understanding. By this statement, and by bringing the Congress into constitutional practice and by assuring the Africans of this country that the Government of Northern Rhodesia is impartial and genuinely interested in improving the conditions under which Africans now live, I am quite confident that race relations will improve to the satisfaction of every decent person in this country. We will do our best to work for the development of

¹DIGEST IV, 1.

Northern Rhodesia and all its people, but for this we need the help and the sympathy of all liberal-minded Europeans." (*Rhodesia Herald*, August 4, 1956.)

In an interview later, he added: "If the Administration will take us seriously as representing African interests I will make every endeavour to contact the Government on matters affecting the African and discuss them. We have all agreed to that. But we want to prove that the Government and the Elected Members are genuine. If they tried to use us for their own political ends and break our organization we would have to revert to our former methods of effecting things." He emphasized that he said this to safeguard Congress interests and in no way as a threat. (*Rhodesia Herald*, August 7, 1956.)

The statement was welcomed by the *Rhodesia Herald* (August 6, 1956) as "a breath of fresh air", and the correspondent of the *Observer* (August 12, 1956) said: "Whether Mr. Nkumbula intended it or not, the pledge has knocked away some of the props under conventional political thought in the Federation at a time when the Whites were leaning on them heavily. Those who want a complete break with the Colonial Office point to racial unrest in the Northern Protectorates as their strongest supporting argument. Congress weakens this case by pledging itself to work for racial peace.

"There are, of course, other and more pressing reasons why Congress should favour a milder political climate now. Reform of the franchise and constitutional changes in Northern Rhodesia are both under consideration. Congress wants the number of African voters—now a mere handful—to be enlarged, and wants something like parity in the Legislative Council. It is not likely to have much success with these legitimate, if optimistic, claims so long as it can be represented as dangerously subversive."

African Franchise¹

The Northern Rhodesian African Representative Council, the highest official African advisory body in the Territory, adopted a plan for putting the Africans on the common voters' roll. Mr. F. B. Chembe, said that the qualifications for African men and women to vote should be: an age of 21 years, residence for at least three years, the ability to read and write in the vernacular, a property qualification of £50 and an income of £5 a month.

The Council approved the plan unanimously, although Mr. Franklin, Member of the Legislative Council for African Education who sits on the Representative Council, spoke against it.

In reply, Mr. W. F. Stubbs, Secretary for Native Affairs, said that the motion tried to simplify a very difficult and involved problem and was too early. He added that an income of £5 per month could not be taken as sufficient indication that the holder is a person fully capable of understanding the difficult questions of elections. (*Rhodesia Herald*, June 16, 1956.)

Statements by Industrial Leaders

Sir Ernest Oppenheimer, in a report on the Nchanga Consolidated Copper Mines, said: "Training of African employees to fill the twenty-four categories of jobs handed over by European employees in terms of the Advancement Agreement signed in September 1955, has proceeded satisfactorily, and we contemplate that this first phase of advancement will be completed before the end of the present financial year when about

185 Africans will have taken up advanced positions on our property.

"I sincerely trust that our European employees who have so far readily conceded the wisdom of this advancement policy will continue to co-operate in carrying it out and will not be over-hasty in judging the results. Similarly, I trust that those Africans who are placed in advanced jobs will readily accept their new responsibilities and demonstrate the same integrity and loyalty as we expect from our European employees.

"Advancement inevitably creates demands for increasing amenities so that community life can keep pace with economic progress. We have accordingly been examining the requirements of the African community on the Copperbelt and have reached the conclusion that urgent attention should be given to improving African education which, we think, is inadequate in present circumstances. While naturally the major responsibility must rest on the Government, which we are confident is doing its best to keep pace with the rapidly expanding need, we are also of the opinion that the copper mining companies should accept a share of the responsibility for dealing with a situation which has largely been occasioned by the expansion of their operations. We are accordingly examining the whole question to see in what way and to what extent we can help." (*Financial Times*, July 25, 1956.)

Sir Ronald Prain, chairman of the Rhodesian Selection Trust, contributed a paper on "The Stabilization of Labour in the Rhodesian Copperbelt" to the Duke of Edinburgh's study conference on the human problems of industrial communities within the Commonwealth and Empire.

In the course of it, he said: "If present policies were to remain unchanged there would, we hope, emerge a tradition of long service in the mines, interspersed with periods of leave and ending with retirement on pension in the home district. There seems to be no reason to expect mine employees to behave differently in this respect from African police, soldiers, messengers, and the like. During their service they and their families would continue to be housed by the employers. A tradition of this kind would in effect mean 'stabilization without urbanization' . . . Those who favour urbanization point to the inevitable residence on the Copperbelt of upwards of a quarter of a million Africans and to the obvious fact that the whole of this cannot be a floating population . . . It would also be more satisfactory for the African to own or rent his own house in which he could take a pride. That too would tend to foster an African middle class which now hardly exists and which is generally acknowledged to be desirable. The old concept of rural inhabitants coming to towns to work for shorter or longer periods and returning home for comparatively long intervals is a waste of manpower and an anachronism. They have a foot in two camps and do not reach their full potential efficiency in either. The general trend of opinion is being increasingly influenced by these arguments.

"The exponents of the other school argue that the development of industrial towns and the sudden growth of large urban communities result in slums, vice and crime. They point to the example of the Reef, with its shanty-towns, crime and gangsters, and to the corrupted morals of much of its African population. They point to the deterioration in their quality as workers, which is so serious that the gold-mining industry cannot employ the local population and is chronically short of manpower. They wish to avoid the same things happening on the

¹DIGEST IV, 1.

Copperbelt . . . Stringent conditions should be prescribed for entry and residence on the Copperbelt, and only in exceptional cases should house-ownership be allowed. Each family which settles permanently in a town on leaving work instead of returning to its village means a measurable increase in population in the next generation, and a large aggregate of such cases means loss of control over the situation, the deterioration of the next generation, crime and unemployment—unemployment too from which the escape-route to the tribal home has been deliberately closed . . . The African Education Department is unable to provide elementary education even for the existing child population as it reaches school age, and confesses itself unable to do so in the foreseeable future . . . Since labour is demonstrably becoming stabilized without becoming urbanized, why incur the risks of urbanization? Lastly, the rural areas are desperately short of manpower and one of the country's prime and universally admitted needs is a larger and more stable rural population."

Inter-Racial Camp

With the proceeds of a memorial fund to King George VI an inter-racial youth camp is being built near Broken Hill. It will be directed by Mr. John Bradley, the Youth Welfare officer in N. Rhodesia. The *African Eagle* (August 7, 1956) welcomed the camp as an antidote to the statement of the Federal Minister of Education who said in the Federal Assembly that "the Federal Government did not wish to give encouragement to multi-racial schools in the Federation because the idea is contrary to the tenor of what has occurred in all the three territories of the Federation in the past." The *African Eagle* said that multi-racialism was the only conceivable proposition. Through such projects as the Mulungushi Inter-Racial Camp "our die-hard politicians will eventually come to a halt and revive their thinking . . ."

Treaty Revision Rejected

The four African members of the N. Rhodesian Legislative Council voted in favour of a motion proposed by one of their number, Mr. L. H. Ngandu (N. Province), calling for a review of the 1890 treaties between the British South African Company and the N. Rhodesian African chiefs. Mr. Ngandu said that present chiefs would fight in the courts for such a review and for copies of the treaties to be made available to Native authorities.

Under the treaties the Company undertook to protect and educate the Africans on whose behalf the treaties were made, and to maintain the chiefs' authority and law and order in return for mineral rights. The motion was rejected by nineteen votes to four. In replying to the motion, the Acting Attorney-General, Mr. M. McCall said that he had heard nothing in the debate which showed that the U.K. Government should withdraw recognition of the treaties; there was palpable evidence that the B.S.A. Company had honourably discharged its obligations under the treaties. (*Federation Newsletter*, September 1, 1956.)

The State of Government

The Northern Rhodesia Government was defeated for the first time in the history of the present Legislative Council when thirteen unofficial nominated members and the African members combined to outvote the twelve Government

members on a motion concerning a cattle-raising scheme. *The Times* commented: "The defeat is of little parliamentary significance, as colonial Governments do not resign, but it underlines the growing feeling of frustration at the Government's methods and procrastination." (August 16, 1956.)

The Needs of African Education

The 1955 Report of the N. Rhodesian Education Department speaks of the vital necessity for a vastly accelerated building programme costing about £2 million to provide African schools in the urban areas. If all goes well there will be 250,000 children in the primary schools by 1960. At present fewer than 3 per cent of African girls enrolling complete even the primary course of four years; they drop out to marry. After marriage many come back for further education, and the report says that adult education is more costly in money and staff than formal education classes. (*Federation Newsletter*, September 1, 1956.)

SOUTH WEST AFRICA

U.N. Committee Drafts Report

THE seven-nation committee on South West Africa met in New York to draft its report to the U.N. General Assembly. It decided to inform the South African Government once again that it was ready to negotiate with it should the Union Government reverse its decision.

The Committee expressed surprise at South Africa's refusal to allow the Rev. Michael Scott to visit South West Africa. Mr. Scott recently advised the Committee that his application made earlier this year had been denied by the Union authorities.

The draft report said that extensive restrictions imposed on non-Europeans were "clearly inconsistent" with the principles and purposes of the mandatory system and with the universal declaration of human rights. The committee criticized the removal of non-European locations from areas considered to be European and recommended that "the mandatory power discontinue such measures and repeal racially discriminatory restrictions in residence in the laws of the territory." (U.N. Press Releases, June 28 and July 9, 1956.)

In a comment, the *Windhoek Advertiser* (July 3, 1956) said: "If UNO wants to hear Mr. Scott, they can listen to him there. In South West nobody is interested."

British Government Attitude Explained

In the House of Commons Mr. Dodds-Parker (Under Secretary of State) in reply to a question said that the Government accepted the Advisory Opinion given by the International Court in 1950. This held that the degree of supervision exercised by the United Nations should not exceed that which applied under the League of Nations Mandates system. Under that system there was no provision for oral hearing of petitions. The Government's view has been that it would be contrary to the 1950 Opinion for the South West Africa Committee to grant such oral hearings. But this view would be examined in the light of the Opinion of the Court given on June 1, 1956.¹

The General Council of the United Nations Association at its Annual General Meeting (July, 1956) expressed every confidence that the British Government would now feel bound

¹DIGEST IV, 1.

loyally to accept the Court's decision and would actively assist the United Nations at its forthcoming Assembly to carry out the Court's directives, thereby encouraging world-wide respect for international law and strengthening the authority of the Court.

Damaras Removed from Reserve

The 401 non-European inhabitants of the Augeikas Native Reserve were moved by lorries to a new area adjoining the Otjihorongo Reserve. The Damaras, men, women and children, who had lived at Augeikas since 1906 (though it had never been proclaimed as a Native Reserve) were moved lock, stock and barrel some 250 miles. The new area is some 1,000 hectares smaller than their former home. Of the original area, 1,000 hectares will be used as a game reserve, 2,000 hectares has been given to a school and the remaining 10,000 hectares will be cut into two farms and sold by auction. (*Windhoek Advertiser*, June 26, and July 17, 1956.)

Dr. Verwoerd's Tour of Reserves

Together with Dr. W. M. Eiselen, the Secretary for Native Affairs and other officials, Dr. H. F. Verwoerd, the South African Minister of Native Affairs made a six-day tour of the African Reserves. At Tses he addressed a meeting of Namas and Hereros, during which he said: "We are trying to protect you from strangers. If anybody came into the Reserves as they liked, you would soon be squeezed out." Dr. Verwoerd said that as in countries throughout the world, where Europeans did not mix and inter-breed, so should the Non-European also preserve his own language and Reserve for the safety of the generations that follows after him. If all the non-European tribes came together and invaded the Reserves what would happen to those living there already?

At another meeting of Damaras in the Karibib Location Dr. Verwoerd said: "We have made the Bantu Authorities Act applicable to the Bantu in the Union. Those who have accepted it have gone forward. We will also make this Act applicable to you, and you may have it if you want it. It means that the Headmen and their Council will have the authority to punish you if you will not listen." He added they would have to take it or leave it. It would help them a lot if they accepted it. (*Windhoek Advertiser*, July 27 and August 3, 1956.)

Apartheid in South West

The congress of the United National South West Party decided to ask the administration to apply the Group Areas Act to the Rehoboth area of South West Africa. The motion also requested that the White farmers in the area, who would have to vacate it, should be provided with good farms.

Mr. J. P. Niehaus, leader of the party, speaking to the motion, said: "I am afraid that if we adopt the motion we will cut our own throats."

He described the Group Areas Act as "dangerous" and asked that it should not be accepted.

Congress further decided to ask the administration to provide separate amenities for Europeans at the magistrate's office at Rehoboth, and "in general to apply apartheid more strictly at all post offices and magistrate's offices in South West Africa."

The congress also wanted it laid down that only Europeans are appointed as drivers of ambulances in which European patients are carried (*Rand Daily Mail*, August, 1956.)

Rhodesian Rail Link¹

A committee under the chairmanship of the Mayor of Walvis Bay has been formed with the aim of popularizing the plan for a rail link from Walvis Bay to the coalfield of Wankie in S. Rhodesia, and to make it clear to the Union Government "that we are all in favour of the idea." A letter from Lord Craigmore was read at a meeting which stated that a big and influential group in England favoured the idea and were whole-heartedly supporting it. The Rhodesian Federal Parliament also favoured the scheme. The South West Railway Exploration Company had already spent over £12,000 on a survey on the land from Grootfontein to Wankie via the Caprivi Strip and Bechuanaland. Only one bridge would be necessary across the Okavango. (*Windhoek Advertiser*, August 10, 1956.)

SOUTH AFRICA

Group Areas Development

22,000 Indians to be Moved

WIDESPREAD protests have been made against the most recent proposals for the application of the Group Areas Act to move 22,000 Indians from their present homes and businesses in Johannesburg to Lenasia, 18 miles from the centre of the city. One of their present homes is Fourteenth Street, Pageview (Vrededorp), which the political reporter of the *Johannesburg Star* (August 27, 1956) described as "barely 500 yards long but representing £1,250,000 to its seventy Indian merchants and a livelihood to about 2,000 people . . . Pageview is part of the old Malay Location given to coloureds and Asiatics by the Transvaal Republic Government in 1887. In 1937, by an Act of Parliament, Indians were given the right to freehold title in the township and in 1941 this was confirmed by a resolution in Parliament. Shortly afterwards Indians acquired their first freehold stands in Fourteenth Street."

A call to Johannesburg Indians to boycott the Government-approved township of Lenasia, and a call to all Indians in the Union not to accept the application of the Group Areas Act anywhere was made at a meeting of about 2,000 Indians in the Gandhi Hall, Johannesburg.

The meeting was called by the Transvaal Indian Congress. Another resolution called on the Congress to seek the support of African and Asian countries to influence the United Nations "to take the necessary steps to compel the Union Government to cease violating the provisions of the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights."

The conference was opened by Father Jarrett-Kerr of the Community of the Resurrection. A message of good will from Mrs. Pandit, the Indian High Commissioner in London, was read: "The Indian community in the Union is now threatened with extinction by the ruthless enforcement of the Group Areas Act. It is, therefore, proper that they should unite and organize themselves for peaceful resistance against the implementation of the Group Areas Act." (*Rand Daily Mail*, August 27, 1956.)

The Johannesburg Black Sash women made protest demonstrations against the Act and distributed thousands of pamphlets protesting against this deprivation of basic human rights.

The Bishop of Johannesburg, the Transvaal Methodist
¹DIGEST IV, 1.

Church, the leader of the United Party Group in the Johannesburg City Council and many well-known Liberals were among others who protested.

Position in Cape Town

Meanwhile in Cape Town the Cape Town City Council has refused to take any part in the work of the Group Areas Committee and Mr. A. H. Broeksma, counsel for a number of Coloured organizations, has said that if group areas are demarcated in the Cape Peninsula on the evidence at present available, it will create not only economic and social chaos, but mental, moral, and spiritual chaos as well.

Position in Vryburg

In Vryburg, legal men who appeared for the Indian and Coloured communities of Vryburg walked out of a committee meeting of the Group Areas Board in Vryburg as a protest against the procedure, which they condemned as unjust and unfair. The board heard a proposal made by Mr. T. H. van Reenen on behalf of the Vryburg Town Council for the removal of the town's Indians to vacant land two miles outside the town. The proposed Indian area is adjacent to the town's sewage disposal farm. Mr. van Reenen did not call any evidence in support of the proposal, which he said was supported by the majority of citizens. Dr. George Lowen, Q.C., who appeared for the Indian community, said that it meant the removal of 400 Indians. The market value of the properties involved was more than £411,000 and the municipal valuation was £222,000. He called three European witnesses, who said that they had not been consulted about the town council's plans. They were Col. J. P. Frylinck, the Reverend Mr. Montgomery, brother of Field-Marshal Lord Montgomery, and Mr. J. T. Loubser . . .

The Chairman, Mr. W. F. Nel, said that he saw no reason why witnesses should be called . . .

Dr. Lowen said that the procedure followed of not calling witnesses was contrary to all rules of law with regard to the onus of proof. (*Rand Daily Mail*, September 3, 1956.)

"Doom Town"

Five hundred Coloured people, mostly garment workers and their families are forced to live in "Doom Town", their name for a tent and tin hut settlement at Noordgesig Coloured Township near Johannesburg, because of confusion over the proclamation of group areas. Between seven and fourteen people cram into 10 ft. by 10 ft. iron huts, temporary measures by the Johannesburg City Council in an effort to provide accommodation for some of the 2,000 homeless Coloured families in the city. Others live in tents supplied by the Council. (*Johannesburg Sunday Times*.)

*"Sky Locations"*¹

The Johannesburg City Council decided to stop moving African servants from hotels, blocks of flats, etc. because only one hostel, not quite completed, with accommodation for some 5,000 bachelors had been provided which, as the *Rand Daily Mail* (August 26, 1956) pointed out, was required to house some 10,000 servants working in flats and hotels plus another 10,000 unlawful lodgers living in the back-yards of the city. In addition to this, over 20,000 families were on the waiting list for houses.

The Minister of Native Affairs, Dr. H. F. Verwoerd, vetoed

¹Digest IV, 1.

this decision and demanded that the Council continue with the move.

A flat superintendent in Johannesburg, who had had eighteen service Africans under her control—some of whom had been with her for about twenty years—said that she went to inspect the hostel at Dube, about 12 miles from Johannesburg. She wrote to the *Star*: "Dube looks like a vast army barracks. There are scores, hundreds, possibly miles, of long hutments, all exactly alike. Many of them are ready for occupation and we examined them inside. They have brick walls and a corrugated asbestos roof. They are built with open caves (a space between the top of the wall and the roofing) which, combined with the cement floor, makes them bitterly cold. Even in the sunshine the cold was intense. In each hut there are eight beds. There are also eight steel lockers, each one so small that it will only hold absolute necessities. It will certainly not hold the Native's most cherished possessions, which are usually blankets, a decent suit of clothes and an overcoat. In addition, there are eight little food lockers; a table; a bench made from a narrow plank supported on some bits of old piping. There are no floor coverings of any kind, no curtains, no arrangements for lighting (although the occupants will have to leave before sunrise and get back after dark), no form of heating and no cooking facilities. This is the 'home' provided for eight hard-working men, whose labour we need."

African Barrister Refused Chambers

Mr. P. P. D. Nokwe,¹ the first African in the Transvaal's history to be called to the Bar, has been told that he could not take up chambers in His Majesty's Building, Johannesburg, because of the Group Areas Act and the Native Urban Areas Act. The *Johannesburg Star* (August 9, 1956) pointed out that: "In an article and photographs in the latest State Information Office overseas bulletin, Mr. Nokwe is held up as a shining example of the progress being made by Natives in South Africa—where, it is stated, anyone with ability can become a professional man."

African Women's Great Demonstration

Nationalist newspapers estimated 6,000–7,000 demonstrators, the English-speaking South African press 10,000 and the overseas press 20,000, when African women massed at the Union Buildings in Pretoria as a protest against having to carry Pass Books. The English language press paid tribute to the wonderful organization and discipline of the vast gathering, which had come from all over the country. The *Johannesburg Sunday Times* (August 19, 1956) said that this was an event of deep significance and added: "These women from many tribes and many districts, who bestirred themselves to travel to Pretoria, are the lazy, cheerful, feckless 'Native girls' we all know—our nurses and domestic servants. Is it not time to ask ourselves whether we really know them as well as we suppose? Should we not heed the evidence they brought that a change is coming over the Bantu people which we can still guide, but not prevent?"

The Minister of Labour, Senator De Klerk, threatened to introduce legislation to restrict the right of the public to gather at the Union Buildings, and the National Executive of the Liberal Party protested most strongly against this threat.

¹Digest IV, 1.

In other parts of the country women have continued to protest—in Durban and in Cape Town, and about 2,000 marched from their homes in Evaton township to the Native Commissioner's Office in Johannesburg (*Rand Daily Mail*, July 14, 1956).

After a protest march in Ermelo, a hundred women were arrested for taking part in a procession without authority from the municipality.

Increase in Crime

Since July 1955 there have been outbreaks of violence resulting from the decision of the local European bus company to raise the fares on the non-European service from Evaton (an African township) to Johannesburg. The rise in fares was a great hardship on the Africans and a boycott was begun, which became 95 per cent effective, Africans preferring to walk 8 miles to their work.

Over fifty arrests were made and twenty prosecutions, though in many cases of assault the men arrested were acquitted. After a few months "Russians"—gangs of Basuto with a reputation for fighting—joined in the outbreaks of violence.

The Drum (July, 1956) reported that: "The leaders of the boycott movement complain that although they have succeeded in preaching against the use of violence among its members, they are continually provoked by 'Russians', who brandish sticks, battle-axes and guns 'unchecked and with impudence.' The activities of the 'Russians' recall the violent days of the Newclare riots some years ago when a group of the same brand of people caused a number of Newclare residents to run out of the township."

The People's Transport Council, formed to organize the boycott, have complained "that whenever there was a clash between boycotters and non-boycotters, especially the 'Russians', the former have been arrested even when they were victims of assault and none of the latter, even when the 'Russians' had used violence. The Council cited cases where they alleged the police failed to arrest anti-boycotters who had assaulted members of their group. When three men reported to the police that they had been assaulted they were told that each member of the party would have to lay a charge. No prosecution followed. After the October clash, the Council's attorney said, only supporters of the boycott were arrested and prosecuted although two boycotters had been killed."

They asked the District Commandant of the S.A. Police to receive a deputation, but he refused and said that in every case cited investigations had been made.

Agreement was finally reached between the Company and the People's Transport Council, and at a meeting of 2,500 Africans the leaders of the boycott said that they had decided to call off the boycott because they had scored a resounding victory. This victory, they said, would "sound the death knell of oppression in South Africa."

The *Rand Daily Mail* (August, 1956) reported that "the big crowd was good humoured and for more than four and a half hours they listened in the broiling sun to their leaders, some of whom quoted in fluent English sayings of German, Italian and Chinese philosophers to show that nothing can prevail against the determined will of the people." It added: "Since the bus fares were increased a year ago, when the boycott started, fifteen people have been killed, some hundreds

have been injured and ten houses have been destroyed in riots."

But violence continued, and Bishop Sims, a former police sergeant and for many years head of the Christian National Church of Africa, was shot dead in his house at Evaton. His house was burned down. It was believed that the Bishop was one of the leaders of the elements opposed to the bus boycott and in July *The Drum* described his desperate fear that he would be attacked.

The Bishop of Johannesburg, Mr. Alex Hepple (leader of the Labour Party), Senator William Ballinger (Native Representative) and Mrs. M. Friedman (secretary of the Liberal Party), after a visit to Evaton had said: "We are satisfied that the people of Evaton live in a state of terror. A situation has developed in which life and property are unsafe—about twenty people have already been killed. The people have lost confidence in police protection, and the authorities—justly or unjustly—have been discredited." They had appealed without success to the Minister of Justice, Mr. C. R. Swart, to appoint a judicial commission of inquiry into the unrest. (*Sunday Times*, August 5, 1956.)

The Minister of Native Affairs, Dr. Verwoerd, said he had given instructions for certain steps to be taken for the proper administration of the area, which included appointing more officials, a white committee, and the building of larger offices for the Native Commissioner on an open piece of land, which was accessible to Europeans without their having to pass through native territory. In future, conditions such as had arisen at Evaton would be prevented, because the Government now refused to grant property rights to natives within white areas, so separating the racial groups and accommodating natives in well-controlled and well-laid-out locations.

Riots which started in beerhalls took place in July and August. The Township Advisory Board demanded a judicial commission of inquiry into the conduct of the police. They said:

"(1) The African people protest strongly against the use of firearms by the South African Police as the first method in trying to quell a disturbance.

"(2) We feel that the use of firearms at random was not warranted during the two recent disturbances which took place at the same spot.

"(3) We know that the trouble in both cases was between the police and the African people, which has caused us great concern.

"(4) Because of loss of life and injuries to people involved we demand that a judicial commission of inquiry be instituted immediately to inquire into the conduct of the police and the cause of the deterioration of race relations which has recently become acute and worse by the day." (*Rand Daily Mail*, August, 1956.)

Twenty-three of twenty-six Africans charged with the murder of five policemen during a Police raid in Natal¹ were sentenced to death.

Justice

The *Golden City Post* (July 1, 1956) reported that in sentencing a detective-constable, Jan Ben Wiese, for the killing of a 15 year old Malay boy, Omar Arends, in the Woodstock Charge Office, Mr. Justice Ogilvie Thompson said he hoped the sentence would be a deterrent. The *Post* asked: "But what

¹DIGEST IV, 1.

kind of a deterrent is a fine of £75 in a case like this? And why was the further sentence of six months in jail suspended?"

In a judgement handed to the Supreme Court in Pretoria, Mr. Justice Bresler said: "In my view it has been shown on a balance of probabilities that the plaintiff was assaulted without reason or provocation; and I may add further that in my opinion the conduct of the two policemen is deserving of the severest censure." He was giving judgement for £35 damages with costs to Fernando Kumbila, an employee of St. Paul's Church, Parkhurst, who had sued the Minister of Justice for £200 damages for alleged assault by two policemen. The Minister was ordered to pay the costs of the appeal and the judgement of absolution by a Johannesburg magistrate was set aside. (*Star*, August 14, 1956.)

For committing what the Acting Assistant Magistrate, Mr. P. J. Dryer, described as "an unprovoked and brutal assault and a shameful crime," Hendrik de Beer, 21, of Sasolburg, was fined £35 (or three months), in the Sasolburg Magistrate's Court. It was alleged that two cars driven by Europeans chased a third, driven by a Native, and that one of them zig-zagged in front of the Native's car until a collision occurred. It was further alleged that the Native driver was so seriously assaulted that his vision was impaired, his face badly injured, six of his ribs broken and a lung punctured.

Two young men, Lionel Morrison and Abdurahman Hurzuk, one of them a student, both first offenders, were refused leave to appeal against their conviction and sentence of four months' imprisonment for writing Freedom Charter slogans on the walls of buildings in Cape Town.

Special Branch Activities

The *Pretoria News* (August 27, 1956) commented that: "Public concern is undoubtedly growing throughout the Union at present over both the actions and the demeanour of the Special Branch of the Criminal Investigation Department. Unless some curbs are imposed there seems a danger that high-handed and arrogant behaviour will soon become a commonplace.

"More, for example, will undoubtedly be heard of the case in Johannesburg where a well-known attorney was suddenly arrested on an allegation of infringing the Radio Act. This man, Mr. John Lang, was taken into custody after an interrogation considered by a senior police officer to have been unsatisfactory. He was removed to Marshall Square where all his possessions were taken from him and where he was permitted to see no one, not even his legal representative. Eventually an application on his behalf for an order 'directing that he be unconditionally released' and admitted to bail was granted by a Judge of the Rand Supreme Court. During this hearing it was conceded by the Deputy Attorney-General that because Mr. Lang had been arrested without a warrant, his detention was unlawful; that he was, in fact, entitled to immediate release . . ."

"There was the recent raid on a private European home in Johannesburg where a meeting attended by a number of Native women was in progress."

Sixty detectives and a number of armed European police constables ringed the first anniversary meeting of the Freedom Charter Movement at Kliptown, near Johannesburg. A crowd of about 1,000 Africans, Europeans, Coloureds and Indians

attended the meeting and a message from Father Trevor Huddleston wishing success to the meeting was read out.

After allegations had been made in *The Drum*, and *Reynolds News*, that a concentration camp existed in the Transvaal for African political prisoners, the South African Government denied the charge. Mr. John Cope, M.P., visited Frenchdale detention farm and reported that it "bears no resemblance to the popular conception of a 'concentration camp'."

The writer of the article in *Reynolds News*, Mr. Harry Bloom, author of *Episode* and well-known Johannesburg lawyer, was subsequently the subject of an article in "South African Affairs", published by the Government's State Information Office. This reported a police allegation that he is a Communist. The *Rand Daily Mail* commented: "To accuse a man of being a Communist, or even of having 'Communist sympathies,' is a serious charge in South Africa . . . If this claim by 'South African Affairs'—that its information about Mr. Bloom came from the police—is correct, then obviously an official inquiry should be held immediately. What business have the police to open the contents of a confidential dossier to a Government, or any other journal for publication? This is not information that has been sworn to before a court, and it is highly improper that it should be divulged. The Minister of Justice should institute an immediate investigation. The whole incident, including the cancellation of Mr. Bloom's permit to travel abroad, calls for a full explanation. Certainly the public will be interested to hear the Minister of Justice on the subject at a time when the Government is indignantly denying the charge that South Africa is being turned into a 'police state'."

The Closing of Adams College and Bantu Education

Adams College, Natal, founded in 1853 by the American Board of Missions, has been refused registration as a private school by the S.A. Government. Adams was famous throughout South and East Africa, and included secondary, industrial, and teachers' training colleges.

When the Bantu Education Act came into force, the teachers training college was closed down and registration for the other sections applied for.

A South African correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* (September 4, 1956) reported that: "After long and vexatious delays, the Government sent the Native Affairs Commission to investigate the position before it came to a decision on the question of registration. The Native Affairs Commission is not a body of qualified educationalists but of five Nationalist members of Parliament. Only two attended this 'inquiry' into the future of a school 103 years old. It must seem incredible to anyone outside South Africa that one of the objections raised by the Commissioners to the school's policy was a circular which set out that the school stood for 'a liberal education,' but so it was.

"Against the decision of the Government not to grant the necessary certificate of registration there is no appeal. The council, in the face of the emergency, being able to do nothing more themselves, have handed the college back to the American Board of Missions, which is negotiating with the Government."

Considerable increases in Native taxes in the near future, so that the Government's policy that Natives must make a substantial contribution to their own education could be carried

out, were forecast by Mr. W. A. Maree, who specializes in Bantu education.

The Government had also decided to introduce legislation during the next parliamentary sessions to establish Native universities, and so put an end to "the state of affairs at present existing at universities like that of the Witwatersrand," he said.

The idea of the Government's policy was to impress on the Native that he was a member of a separate community, and that the purpose of his education was to make him a better member of that community. His education must belong to him in his own mind, and he must therefore pay for it himself. (*Rand Daily Mail*, August, 1956.)

The *Rand Daily Mail* reported that because the majority of 300 Bantu school boards in the Union apparently consider education more important than eating, 80 per cent of them have chosen to discontinue school feeding and spend the subsidy of one and one-fifth pennies a child a day on extending educational facilities for Native children. This will mean that an additional 100,000 Native children will be roped into the educational net.

A White mother, writing to the *Mail*, compared her small son, "with his sandwiches in hand, to supplement the four-penny school feeding he would receive from the Transvaal Education Department" with "all the Black boys of his age, many starting out without any breakfast under the belt, no sandwiches in hand, and only one-and-a-fifth pennyworth of school feeding awaiting them."

For conducting a private Bantu school, without the school being registered, a Native, John Moketsepano, who pleaded guilty, was fined £15 with the alternative of 50 days' imprisonment with compulsory labour by Mr. C. F. N. Viljoen in the Krugersdorp Magistrate's Court. Of the fine £12 (or 20 days) were suspended.

Sergeant A. A. Greef, of the Muldersdrift police station, said that on April 4 he found twenty Native children in front of Moketsepano's house on the farm Sandspruit 91. Moketsepano was speaking to them. There were five benches, eighteen slates, and a number of primary Zulu books. The ages of the children ranged from 4 to 14.

Jacob Skosan, aged 14, one of the pupils, said that Moketsepano was a minister. The pupils were taught to read. The tuition fee was 2s. a month.

Mr. Sydney Maseko, Inspector of Bantu Education, Krugersdorp, said that on April 11, Moketsepano and other Natives came to his office. Moketsepano made inquiries about the establishment of a private Bantu school at Sandspruit and was told that he could not start a school unless it was registered. He (Mr. Maseko) supplied him with an application form which was not returned. (*Rand Daily Mail*, July 31, 1956).

Loan for Slum Clearance

The Rand mining finance houses controlled by Sir Ernest Oppenheimer, chairman of the Anglo American Corporation, have joined forces in lending the Johannesburg City Council £3 million (repayable over a period of thirty years with an interest of 4½ per cent) for the building of 15,000 homes over a period of five years to house some 75,000 Africans in newly established townships. With the existing council schemes, 135,000 Africans will be rehoused by 1962.

Beer Profits Could Pay for Social Services

Profits on Kaffir beer sold in Pretoria's municipal beer halls could pay three times for the social services and recreational facilities provided for Natives by the Pretoria City Council.

Of the estimated beer profit of £86,989 for 1956-57, one-third (£28,996) will be spent on Bantu welfare; the remaining £57,993 will go into a fund used to cover losses on Native sub-economic houses schemes, it was learned from municipal sources. (*Rand Daily Mail*, August, 1956.)

Further Protests Against New Laws

The South African Trade Union Council, largest co-ordinating trade union body in the country with forty-one affiliated unions with a total membership of 150,000 workers, has refused to help the Minister of Labour, Senator De Klerk, to apply the contentious Industrial Conciliation (Consolidation) Act. (*The Star*, August 21, 1956.)

The General Council of the South African Bar at the annual meeting in Durban "unanimously approved the action of its executive in having protested against the Natives (Prohibition of Interdicts) Act, at the time the Bill was before Parliament, on the ground that it invades the ordinary legal rights of individuals and that it interferes with the exercise by the courts of their ordinary and proper functions."

The Liberal Party described this latter Act and the Natives (Urban Areas) Amendment Act as darker blots added to pages already well-smudged with discriminatory enactments.

Comments from Abroad

"Racialism is incompatible with the essential basis on which the Commonwealth has developed, a basis which must rest on the acceptance of human dignity and equality," Mr. Edgar McInnis, president of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs, said in Johannesburg. (*Rand Daily Mail*, July 26, 1956.)

The President of Portugal, General de Craveiro Lopes, during a state visit to South Africa said that the welfare and progress of the African peoples are today an essential part of the message which Western civilization has carried round the world: "That message, which is of spiritual and Christian content, has always had as its prime objective the raising of all men to a status of responsibility and freedom." (*The Star*, August, 1956.)

Professor J. J. Firebaugh, an American lecturer, said: "My impressions are that this country of yours, has remarkable possibilities. These must be realized if it is to prevent itself from being torn apart by internal tensions and from being isolated from the rest of the world. If it becomes isolated, South Africa will become unimportant. Any refusal to deal with a problem so central as the problem of colour in South African literature is to abandon literary honesty."

"South Africa presents by far the most difficult problem in the Commonwealth and a particularly thorny problem for British Socialists", says Mr. Patrick Gordon Walker, former Labour Secretary for Commonwealth Relations, in an article in *Socialist Commentary* (July). He added that the multi-racial Commonwealth "contains South Africa, whose Government is plunging deeper and deeper into the policy of apartheid which denies and challenges the whole principle on which the

Commonwealth is based. Instinctively, we reject and denounce South Africa's race policy."

The Rev. J. J. Buskes, minister of the Dutch Reformed Church, Amsterdam, described South Africa as "a wasps' nest". He spent three months in South Africa studying the Native problem. He came to the conclusion that if South Africa persisted in her apartheid policy her policies would be condemned by the world—"and certainly by Africa."

United Nations Association Resolution on Apartheid

At its Annual General Meeting the General Council of the United Nations Association urged the British Government:

(a) to refuse all suggestions by the South African Government that the High Commission Territories, Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland be incorporated into the Union of South Africa so long as the present policy of apartheid and segregation is being pursued,

(b) to take all possible steps to develop the resources of these territories so that they may become progressively more independent economically; and

(c) to refrain from further impeding attempts in the General Assembly of the United Nations to inquire into the racial situation in the Union of South Africa.

HIGH COMMISSION TERRITORIES

No Transfer of Protectorates

The London evening papers, commenting on the British Government's reply to Mr. Strijdom's recent request,¹ said: "Britain's latest refusal to transfer to South Africa the Protectorates of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland is in complete accord with the meaning of the word protector." (*The Star*, July 5, 1956.)

"This is a right issue on which to stand. It is just, logical, courageous and humane. And it is not easy. The easy course would be to seek agreement with Mr. Strijdom and his friends, who are not averse from the usual mixture of blandishments and threats, and are (in addition) stubbornly convinced of their own rectitude. But the Government of the United Kingdom have wider responsibilities in Africa and elsewhere and they are showing their awareness of those responsibilities. They deserved to be backed." (*Evening News*, July 5, 1956.)

Mr. Ntsu Mokhehle, President-General of the Basutoland African Congress published the text of a cable sent to the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations saying, "Time and again we have stated that we do not wish to be forced into the political fold of the Union of South Africa, whose rabid racialism and arrogance towards the Africans have bedevilled relations between Black and White. We want self-government so that should we ever elect to join the Union in future, we should do so as equal partners on our own terms."

"For forty-eight years we have enjoyed the warm protection of Her Majesty's Government, and do not wish to change it for

some unknown Utopia. It was against marauding and land-grabbing Boers, ancestors of the present Nationalist Government, that our King Moshoeshoe sought protection.

"Should Britain acquiesce in the Union's demand to incorporate our country against our will, she will have betrayed the trust we had in British justice, and stand condemned in the eyes of the world." (*Pretoria News*, July 17, 1956.)

In the House of Commons Cdr. Allan Noble, Under Secretary for Commonwealth Relations, rejected a suggestion that the headquarters of the High Commission territories of Basutoland, Swaziland and Bechuanaland should be transferred from South Africa to some suitable place within the territories.

Mr. Leslie Hale (Labour) had asked if this could be done "in view of the increase of discriminatory race legislation in South Africa."

Basutoland

Dutch Reformed Church to Start Missions

The Friend of Bloemfontein (April 19, 1956) reported: "The Synod of the Dutch Reformed Church in the Free State decided yesterday to start mission work in Basutoland."

A spokesman of the Church explained: "Until recently an agreement had existed between the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Church in the Free State and the Paris Mission Society. The Paris Mission Society had agreed not to do mission work in the Free State. In return the Dutch Reformed Church agreed not to send missionaries to Basutoland."

"At the last talks the Paris Mission Society indicated that it wanted to start work on the Free State Goldfields. The Society was persistent and the agreement could, therefore, now be regarded as no longer in force."

Commenting on this news, *Mohlabani* (June, 1956) said: "To those who have the welfare of Basutoland and the Basotho at heart this is extremely disquieting news, and we wish to protest right now, in the strongest terms possible, against this decision. The Dutch Reformed Church is, we believe, regarded as the State Church in the Union, and as the honourable Dr. Vorster has stated, half the European population belong to it. If the Dutch Reformed Church was so concerned about the spiritual welfare of the Africans in the Union, with the large white following it has it would have exerted its influence on the rulers to govern the Africans as human beings with immortal souls that the Church must save and not as beasts of the jungle. After all it isn't the amount of preaching the gospel that makes the African a man of God; it is the attitude of those who preach the gospel to the Africans that decides whether the African will believe in God or not. But isn't it this Church that outlines and nourishes the politics of the rulers in their dealings with the Africans? Dr. D. F. Malan, ex-Premier of the Union and author of "apartheid" is, by profession, a predikant of the Dutch Reformed Church. The Church itself endorses this apartheid which bedevils relations between Black and White in the Union. Has it ever happened for instance, that an African minister of this Church should preach to a White congregation that professes the same faith, to say nothing of celebrating communion in their Church? If this were to happen heaven and hell would be synonymous."

"We believe in freedom of religion as do all civilized peoples; but with regard to this particular Church we feel there

¹DIGEST IV, 1.

is no room for it in this country. We appeal to the French Church in Basutoland that if their work contemplated in the Free State Goldfields means opening the doors wide for the entry of this Boer Church into Basutoland, then they must sacrifice that work for the good of Basutoland. If they do not do so they will be undoing all the good work which their illustrious predecessors started on such firm foundations.

"Should this, our plea, fall on deaf ears, then we appeal as a last resort to the Paramount Chief and the Resident Commissioner not to allow this Boer Church to start mission work here. The missions we have are already doing meritorious work, and to allow a Church which is the Peter of apartheid to work here will cause such strife as will disrupt the religious peace and political unity which inhabit this fair land of ours."

Protest over Commissioner

The Basutoland African Congress has protested to the British Government against the appointment of a South African (Mr. Alan Chaplin), as Resident Commissioner. The organization in a letter addressed to Lord Home, Secretary for Commonwealth Relations, says it and the Basuto people are much perturbed by the appointment. They would prefer an Englishman to a South African as Commissioner. The letter adds: "Basutoland and the Union of South Africa are engaged in political war and South Africa wants to incorporate us."

Mr. Chaplin was first appointed to a post in Basutoland in 1926. He served in a number of posts elsewhere in the world before his appointment as Resident Commissioner, Basutoland, in July this year. (*South Africa*, September 1, 1956)

Swaziland

Development

COMMENTING on a report that £275 million was to be invested in Swaziland, the *Rand Daily Mail* (July 7, 1956), said: "This nearly equals three-quarters of the sum proposed, but not voted, for all South Africa's Native territories in the Tomlinson Report's ten-year plan, which assumed that the Union would take over the Protectorates. The main participants in the Swaziland project are Rio Tinto, the Anglo-American Corporation and Balfour Beatty.

"Lord Tweedsmuir has been active in shaping the company, which has been negotiating with the Paramount Chief of Swaziland on mineral rights, and with free-holders in this largely undeveloped territory of 6,000 square miles.

"Among the first schemes to be undertaken will be hydro-electrical power, and coal and iron ore mining which will produce an estimated 2 million tons of pig-iron yearly for the British market, shipped through Lourenco Marques.

"The Union Government has been informed of the development plan."

Speaking in Bremersdorp, Sir Percivale Liesching, the United Kingdom High Commissioner, said that large expenditure would have to be made on roads, and that consideration had been given to building a railway network.

One of the considerations governing the construction of a Swaziland railway system was the exploitation of the valuable iron ore near Mbabane. This in turn was connected with the development of coal and hydro-electric power.

"Sensational reports" appearing in the Press about com-

panies intending to invest vast sums on various projects in Swaziland should be disregarded.

It was true that many companies and corporations in the United Kingdom and South Africa, were keenly interested in investing in Swaziland development, but nothing had yet got to a stage where any decision had been reached by the interests concerned.

Every effort was being made to attract capital to Swaziland. The Advisory Council and the Swazi National Council were constantly taking the opportunity to comment on benefits to be obtained from investment in the country.

Sir Percivale added that a memorandum on the question of self-government for Swaziland had been prepared and had been forwarded to the Secretary of State for Colonial Affairs.

"But you will not expect me here and now to comment on what the United Kingdom Government's reply to this memorandum is likely to be. It will require the most careful consideration," he said. (*South Africa*, July 28, 1956).

Bechuanaland

The Case of Seretse Khama

A DEBATE was held in the House of Commons on August 1, 1956, on the case of Seretse Khama, who has been in exile from Bechuanaland, since 1950, as a result of disagreement amongst the Bamangwato tribe over his marriage which had not been in accordance with tribal law and custom.

Mr. James Griffiths (Labour) said that the purpose of governmental decisions in this case had been to achieve permanency and finality in the situation. This had not been fulfilled, and members of the Bamangwato tribe did not consider the issue of chieftainship to be finally settled. The uncertainty which still existed was retarding the development of the people. Mr. Griffiths said it was "preventing the development of representative institutions and councils. The unsettlement is having two effects. It is retarding constitutional development along normal lines of representative institutions and it is retarding economic development."

Speaking of the possibilities of mineral development in Bechuanaland, Mr. Griffiths said: "If there are mineral resources available, as it appears there are, and if they are developed by enormous companies with their very great resources, the whole life of this people will be transformed. We have seen what tensions, what problems, are created by the sudden rapid transformation by industrialization of a country with a peasant economy. The minerals will not be worked, the mines will not be worked, economic and industrial developments will not take place, without Africans being brought to work in them.

"We shall have here again another copperbelt. There can be no settlement, no granting of these rights, without the consent of the tribe. It is clear to us that the tribe will not give their consent until these political problems of which I have been speaking are resolved."

Mrs. Eirene White (Labour) and Mr. Clement Davies (Liberal) were amongst the speakers who pressed the Government for an "entirely new approach" to their policy regarding Seretse's banishment. A round table conference to which Tshekedi, Seretse, Rasebolai and other tribal leaders should be invited was proposed.

Commander Allan Noble (Under Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations) replying for the Government, said there had been growing stability and efficiency during recent years in the Bamangwato Reserve. The African Authority, Rasebolai was steadily winning the respect and confidence of his tribe. "I hope that by the end of this year Rasebolai will have succeeded in laying the foundation of a system of councils which for the first time will give the Allied Tribes in the Reserve some real say in the conduct of their affairs. These councils will start off with two-thirds elected and one-third nominated members, and will, in the first place, be of an advisory nature."

Referring to economic developments throughout Bechuanaland, Commander Noble said that more than £500,000 has been allocated for the development of new water supplies in the Protectorate and there were new plans for opening up an additional 10,000 square miles of new grazing in the western parts of the Reserve . . . The agricultural, veterinary and medical departments all had comprehensive plans of development for the period up to 1960.

Of the granting of mineral rights, Commander Noble said: "The Resident Commissioner has assured the chiefs and African authorities . . . that no commitments have been or will be entered into without their knowledge, and that they will be free to decline to negotiate, if they so wish. Indeed, he has explained to them that any agreement entered into without the written consent of the chiefs and African representatives, as owners of mineral rights in the Reserve, would be invalid under Bechuanaland law."

Commander Noble was not prepared to agree with Mr. James Griffiths that until the future of the chieftainship was assured the question of mineral rights could not be settled. Of the suggestion for a Round Table Conference, he said: "The advice available to Her Majesty's Government shows that Seretse, his wife and children would not be acceptable to the tribe as a whole as chief, chief's wife and next in line for succession . . . So far as I am aware, there is no other person acceptable at present as chief. There is no doubt that such an event as proposed by the Opposition would stir up once again all the personal animosities and feuds which have now died down. If the conference failed, it would, I think, do far more harm than good . . . There is, of course, no question of the permanent banishment of Seretse."

OTHER AFRICAN TERRITORIES

Sudan

Comment on Change of Government¹

COMMENTING on the fact that it was the decisions of Sayed Abdur Rahman El Mahdi, leader of the Ansar sect and Sayed El Mirghani, the Khatmia leader that led to the defeat of the former Prime Minister, Ismail el Azhary and his replacement by Sayed Abdullah Khalil, secretary general of the Umma

¹DIGEST IV, 1.

Party, London's *The Times* (July 6, 1956) said: "The new Prime Minister, who was a brigadier in the Sudan Defence Force, is a man of integrity, acceptable to both Sayeds and unlikely to be involved in unsavoury dealing with Cairo. Yet, because his Government is a coalition supported by both sectarian leaders, it will necessarily be uneasy. This is made the more unfortunate because the problems which the Government faces are acute."

The *Economist* (July 7, 1956) in an article entitled "Sects and Splits in Sudan", commented: "Most educated young Sudanese would like to think that the Sudan is well on the way towards left-and-right, two-party system. But as yet few politicians, when pressed, can withstand calls to hive off at the bidding of religious leaders . . . Azhary himself is non-sectarian, though he managed to manoeuvre members of both the rival sects—the heterodox Ansar as well—into the 'national' coalition which he formed after he had taken a spill in February. But he seems to have misjudged the margin by which he could disdain the power of sectarian leaders to tumble him if the spirit moved them to do so. He himself took the Ministry of the Interior, and the immediate cause of the current big withdrawal of support seems to be that he used this position unduly to influence the recent municipal elections . . . The interest of the situation is that a politician of new and republican stamp has proved that the sects can be challenged. Though his challenge failed, it suggests that their hold will dwindle in the next generation."

Hopes of Peace for the South

The Sudan Council of Ministers has adopted the main recommendations of the ministerial committee of seven which has been studying relations between northern and southern Sudan. The committee interviewed many citizens both in Khartoum and during a two-week tour of the southern provinces.

A special commission for under-developed areas will be set up, composed of heads of Government departments, to supervise economic and social advancement, and three southern administrators will be appointed as extra deputy governors in the south. At present the senior post held by southerners in the administration is that of assistant district commissioner . . . All those northern administrators and officials who were serving in the south at the time of the troubles last August will be transferred and replaced by specially selected persons "capable of promoting understanding between north and south." Present social distinctions between northern and southern officials—such as the maintenance of separate clubs—will be done away with . . . Expansion of local councils and increased delegation of responsibilities to southerners are among long-term recommendations. (*The Times*, June 30, 1956.)

In a special article the Khartoum Correspondent of *The Times* (August 28, 1956) said: "The task of administration in the south is not easy. The Sudan inherited, and chose to inherit at very short notice, an essentially colonial problem, made more complicated on the one hand by the acknowledged right of southern politicians to express their views, and, on the other, by the presence of vocal northern merchant communities in most of the towns. No northern Sudanese, having just won freedom for his country, likes to be branded as a colonizer, but that is what until now he is considered in the south. The new heads of the Ministry of Interior are determined to eradicate this 'superior race' attitude and to treat all alike as equals . . .

"There is much good will in Khartoum towards the new programme, but its eventual success will depend entirely on the spirit with which the administrators and other officials on the spot put words into action. The southerners' suspicions have not been allayed during the past year—they have been increased—and full confidence will not easily be restored. The southerner seeks straightforwardness and open justice, and this will depend first and foremost on the degree of co-operation attained between northern and southern administrators, for at this stage it is, with few exceptions, only the southern official who can interpret the acts of the administration to the local people. Unless the new policy is carried out in spirit as well as in name on the spot, the south will still be an area of possible disturbance.

"The political aspirations of the south will remain. Now the cry is for federation—by which is meant a form of local autonomy. This is not at present practical and few northern politicians would accept it, fearing its separatist savour."

In a series of articles for the *Manchester Guardian*, Mr. Thomas Hodgkin also referred to the demand for Federation: "How widespread is this demand for Federation—or separation? Some of my Northern friends were inclined to argue that it reflected only the standpoint of a small minority of half-educated Government officials, mission teachers, and traders in the towns and along the roads—while the great mass of Southerners (particularly those belonging to the larger tribal groupings—Dinka, Zande, Shilluck, etc.) remained uncontaminated and uninterested. This may well be true, but a dangerous argument to use, I thought, since this is precisely the way in which British administrators in the Northern Sudan used to talk about the Ashigga Party and its political demands ten years ago. Almost everywhere in contemporary Africa it seems the case that what a relatively small elite thinks today the mass can be induced to think tomorrow; and Southern Sudanese are learning the techniques of organization and propaganda fast.

"However, it would certainly not be true to say that 'Federationism'—in its extremer separatist forms—has general support among Southerners, or even among the educated minority. Broadly speaking—though party allegiances are still loose and shifting—Liberal Party leaders are committed to Federation (in the strict sense), and have produced a constitutional blueprint proposing a Southern Regional Assembly and Government, with control over 'administration, police and prisons, health, education, agriculture and other social services, and economic development'."

Mr. Hodgkin said that the powerful emotional feeling engendered and the intrusion of religion into the political conflict gave a "certain point" to a comparison between the troubles of Ireland and those of Sudan.

"Understandably, the Sudan Government is proposing to absorb the Mission schools, which already it largely finances, into the public educational system, with due provision for religious instructions for Christians, Moslems, and Animists. (A number of Church Missionary Society Schools have, in fact, already been transferred to the Government.) Understandably, too, Arabic, which is already much more of a lingua franca in the South than I had realized, will gradually replace English as the language of instruction. Most important of all, perhaps, the Church is bound to lose a good deal of the privileged position which it has hitherto enjoyed as regards its influence on

the minds of the young (and also of adults) . . . In spite of these discontents, I believe there are good reasons for a sober optimism about the prospects of the Southern Sudan . . . There is an evident need for a rapid improvement in relationships, if future troubles are to be avoided. Here I think (and liberal Northern officials, I know, share this view) that what is above all needed is more liberty and more political education in the South." (*Manchester Guardian*, August 23 and 24, 1956.)

No Czech Arms Deal¹

The Sudan Government officially denied a report that an arms deal between Sudan and Czechoslovakia was imminent. The official spokesman said: "Britain has made no offer to Sudan for the provision of arms, and no consideration whatsoever has been given to the question of negotiating with Czechoslovakia on the supply of tanks and aircraft for the Sudanese Army." (*The Times*, July 30, 1956.)

Somaliland

Massacre of British Somalis²

In reply to a question in the House of Commons about the alleged massacre of members of the Esa tribe last February, Lord John Hope (Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs), said: "H.M. Government was satisfied that British-protected Somalis belonging to the Esa tribe had been killed during the incident, though the Ethiopian Government had denied the charge in their reply to a note of protest lodged by the British Ambassador on July 21. The Government awaited a further report from the Embassy as to the exact number of British Somalis involved."

Breach of Anglo-Ethiopian Treaty, 1954

In a statement, the Somaliland Government said: "Reports have been reaching the Government that the Ethiopian authorities in the Ogaden Province have made direct approaches to Protectorate tribesmen and arranged the irregular appointment of Sultans, Akils and Elders to exercise authority over the Protectorate tribes entering the Territories for the purpose of grazing. It is notified that these approaches and appointments are a breach of the 1954 Agreement and are utterly unacceptable and are not recognized in any way by the Protectorate Government." (*War Somali Sidihi*, July 14, 1956.)

In a letter to *The Times* (July 14, 1956) Mr. Ahmed Hassan, President of the National United Front of Somaliland, referred in detail to the breach of the treaty and added: "The Somaliland Government is fully aware but not empowered to take effective unilateral action with a supporting armed force, though H.M. Government have been petitioned to grant it the necessary authority to balance the unilateral action of Ethiopians. The main Protectorate tribes—the Habr Yugis, the Habr Awal, the Aidgalla, the Arap, and the Dolbhanata—are being looted by hostile tribesmen in the Haud behind a protective screen of Ethiopian forces armed with machine-guns and automatic weapons. Thousands of livestock have been looted. If

¹DIGEST III, 8.

²DIGEST IV, 1.

H.M. Government cannot prevent Ethiopian imperialistic expansion, more tribesmen will submit to coercion. It is imperative that immediate action should be taken by H.M. Government if Great Britain is interested in retaining the Protectorate."

In reply to a question from Mr. James Johnson, M.P. in the House of Commons, Mr. Dodds-Parker (Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs) said: "H.M. Government have received reports that Ethiopian officials have been exercising pressure on tribesmen from the Protectorate, while exercising their rights to graze in Ethiopian territory, to declare themselves Ethiopian subjects and to accept Ethiopian nominees as their Sultans. In so doing they have interfered with the tribal organization of the tribes concerned, and have failed to consult the British Liaison Organization. These acts contravene the 1954 Anglo-Ethiopian Agreement. Her Majesty's Ambassador to Ethiopia has lodged a strong protest against these activities by Ethiopian officials, and has asked that the Ethiopian Government should issue immediate instructions to remedy the situation."

It was reported that the British protest had been rejected by the Ethiopian Government, which claimed that the tribesmen concerned had long been resident on the Ethiopian side of the frontier and consequently already have Ethiopian nationality. (*The Times*, July 21, 1956.)

In a telegram to *The Times*, Mr. Ahmed Hassan protested about the action of the Emperor of Ethiopia during his tour of Ogaden, who was reported to have given formal approval to "quisling tribal chiefs" of protected tribesmen. The British Government's "contemptuous disregard of serious protests," said Mr. Hassan, was demonstrating to the protected Somali tribesmen "the worthlessness of the Government's protection and the futility of reliance on treaty rights guaranteed by Britain". There was bitter disappointment among leaders, sultans and hereditary chiefs. (September 4, 1956.)

Mr. James Johnson¹ said in the House of Commons: "There is no doubt that our prestige and capacity for good will and influence in this part of Africa are slumping. The Ethiopians are appointing their own akils, or headmen, among our Somalis; and, indeed, by gifts of land and other measures are persuading British Somalis to become Ethiopian citizens. Others go over because of the lack of protection which we are offering to our people."

He suggested "calling a conference with the French of Jibuti, the Italians at Mogadishu, our people from Hargeisa, and the Ethiopians in Addis Ababa. There might be possibly a fifth party, the Americans, who have oil interests there and are alleged to have much influence with the Ethiopians because of their technical assistance, economic help, and financial aid to Ethiopia. At such a conference the future of the Somali peoples could be discussed."

"If we do not do something like that soon in Somalia we will lose our present influence for good will. The Somalis are intensely loyal and wish to stay in the Commonwealth if and when they become united in the 1960s. I hope that this suggestion will be considered, and that H.M. Government will attempt to hammer out what all the Somalis can do together in the 1960s."

He concluded "it would be a fine and hopeful thing to get some agreement amongst all the nations in the Middle East

¹DIGEST IV, 1.

upon the future of the Somali people. Politics, like nature, abhors a vacuum. It is not in the best interests of Ethiopia herself for things to continue as they are. If we allow the Ethiopians to continue behaving as they are there is no doubt in my mind that they will drag us down into some future war in the Horn of Africa. I fear some situation in these coming years on the lines of what we now see in the Middle East between the Israelis and Arabs."

Somalia

Government Problems and Policy

ADEN ABDULLAH OSMAN, the President of the Legislative Assembly, said on his return from attending the U.N. Trusteeship Council that his country places much reliance upon the continuance of Italian technical and financial assistance even after 1960, the date of maturity of the U.N. Trusteeship Mandate.

On the need to solve the problem of the frontier between Somali territories and Ethiopia, he said that they were expecting Italy to put pressure on Ethiopia for a solution before the coming General Assembly in November, in order to pass eventually to the phase of mediation by the U.N. if direct negotiations do not give good results. Aden Abdullah placed particular stress upon the urgency for reaching a solution, bearing in mind the just needs of the Somali people to know, before the constitution of the independent state, its exact boundaries—which are an essential element of sovereignty.

With regard to future foreign policy he expressed his personal view that Somalia will try to have fraternal links with the Arab world, without renouncing her own freedom to cultivate the friendships she wishes to. "Somalia", he concluded "is an African country, and it is obvious that she will conduct before all an African policy". (*War Somali Sidihi*, July 29, 1956.)

Ethiopia

Emperor's Call for Unity

"THE Emperor Haile Selassie concluded his extensive tour among his Somali subjects in Ogaden, during which he travelled widely by road and air throughout the area as far as the frontier of the former Italian Somaliland. The most important halt was for a big baraza (meeting), at the town of Gabredere, in the heart of Ogaden, where he made a policy speech.

The Emperor said that the military forces he had sent to Ogaden and the tax collectors, to whom the Somalis were not accustomed, were at first looked upon as aliens and had certain difficulties. "These difficulties have been eradicated," he added, reminding Somalis that "you are subjects of the same Emperor and subject to the same laws."

He said he had offered advice to the Essa tribesmen "who recently became unruly and hostile towards other people. When they ignored our advice they strained our patience and we had them punished."

The Emperor spoke about "greater Somalia," saying he hoped this would materialize because "our country would thereby become yet stronger and larger. We do not want what belongs to others, and will not give up what is ours."

French Africa

Reforms in French Territories

THE French Parliament passed a law (June, 1956) which provides a framework for the gradual establishment of a large measure of self-government in French overseas territories. It gives the Government power to initiate, by decree, a number of important reforms.

The peoples of France's overseas territories, which are part of the Republic, will continue to be represented in the French Parliament. But they will also be able to take an increasing part in the management of their own affairs. The law, known as *loi-cadre* provides for four main sets of reforms:

1. Executive councils (conseils de gouvernement) will be created.
2. The powers of local assemblies will be extended.
3. The Overseas Civil Service will be reformed, to bring into it an increasing number of Africans.
4. Voting will take place on the basis of direct universal suffrage and of a single electoral college.

The reason for this particular form of legislation is that it enables the Government to act swiftly, by avoiding the delays of normal parliamentary procedure. It is explained also by the complexity of the reforms to be introduced, and by the great diversity of the territories concerned (French West Africa, French Equatorial Africa, Madagascar, the Comoro Islands, French Somaliland, New Caledonia, The French possessions in Oceania, St. Pierre and Miquelon, and the trust territories of Togoland and the Cameroons).

1. In the political field. The aim is to associate the peoples of overseas territories as closely as possible with the management of their own affairs.

(a) The first step will be the modification of the powers of the Gouvernements Generaux in French West Africa and in French Equatorial Africa. The rôle of these federal organs of government, will, in future, be one of mere co-ordination.

(b) The setting-up of Executive Councils will enable the representatives of the people to take part in the work of government. The composition and the powers of these councils will vary from territory to territory, but they will generally be presided over by the Governor of the territory, and they will consist partly of members elected by the territorial assemblies, and partly of officials, who will be members ex-officio. The Minister for Overseas France has recommended that they should be composed of nine members, five elected and four officials. Each member will be in charge of a ministerial department.

(c) Another essential reform is the widening of the powers of the existing Territorial Assemblies. The latter will be enabled to make decisions on matters about which they now only possess advisory powers, and on certain subjects which until now, have been the responsibility of the French Parliament.

(d) Finally Conseils de Circonscription (Regional Councils) will be set up which will make it possible for the population in distant rural areas to play a larger part in the democratic management of their own affairs.

2. At the same time there will be a reform of the Overseas Civil Service. The law enables the Government to make a distinction between and to define the respective powers of what

are termed "central government" departments, dealing with matters of general interest, and "territorial" departments, which look after local interests. The creation of these territorial departments, which will be linked directly to the Executive Councils will enhance the latter's authority and effectiveness. It will also promote the "Africanization" of the public services by bringing into them an ever-increasing number of native African officials. In this connexion, the Ecole Nationale de la France d'Outre-Mer which trains overseas civil servants will in future recruit about 50 per cent of its students from overseas territories.

3. In the economic field, the law defines the principles of government policy in such matters as co-operation between the mother country and overseas territories, the fostering of local economic activities, the encouragement of private investments etc.

4. A special section deals with Togoland and the Cameroons both territories under French trusteeship.

5. Finally, measures of special importance will be introduced in the field of electoral procedure. They will provide the "logical conclusion of the process of evolution initiated at the end of the last war", by (a) generalizing direct universal suffrage; (b) abolishing the double electoral college where it still exists; and (c) introducing a single electoral college in all overseas elections whether for the French Parliament or for local assemblies. (*Manchester Guardian*, July 25, 1956.)

Belgian Congo

The "Conscience Africaine"

Conscience Africaine, a Congolese magazine, has issued a manifesto on the political and general evolution of the Belgian Congo. It dealt with numerous problems; relations between Europeans and Congolese people, the form of civilization to be adopted in this part of equatorial Africa, relations between Congo and Belgium, political outlook on the future etc. The manifesto asked for a progressive, but total emancipation within the next thirty years without accepting that the Congo should be a part of a unitarian Belgian state, and it rejects the introduction of Belgian political parties in Congo.

The manifesto was strongly criticized by *Abaco*, a cultural association of the Bacongo people; other ethnic groups were reputed to be studying it carefully. There has been some talk of creating a National Union party in Congo, and the promoters of the Manifesto held a meeting in the native village of Leopoldville during which they discussed with the various presidents of the Congolese ethnic groups, the future basis of the creation of a Congolese national movement.

The newspaper *L'Avenir* attacked this move and under the title "Here are the real political agitators in Congo" it denounced the "moral and political swindle" of the *Conscience Africaine* which is organizing now "the self defence of the Church against Belgian political parties by duping Congolese people with the creation of a party under a camouflage." (*Agence France-Presse*, August 28 and 30, 1956.)

Socialist Call for Congo Autonomy

Belgian Socialists at a party congress on Colonial affairs

have voted unanimously in favour of eventual autonomy for the Belgian Congo and the trusteeship territory of Ruanda-Urundi.

"Belgian presence in the Congo and Ruanda-Urundi can have no other aim than to aid the inhabitants to establish a régime of democracy, freedom, social justice and progress, with a view to leading them to the autonomous direction of their interests," a party statement said. The necessarily gradual task of preparing the Congolese for self-government "should be undertaken without delay and systematically pursued." The statement said the first task in the programme of development should be to raise the standard of living of the inhabitants. They should then be helped in their "apprenticeship to democracy." It recommended the establishment of "local assemblies, at first only in the towns, elected by universal suffrage, and at a later stage, similarly elected provincial assemblies."

In a section on the reorganization of the Congo economy, the statement called for the nationalization of mine products, strategic materials and petrol. The private Belgian Congo mining company, Union Minière du Haut Katanga, mines more than 60 per cent of the world's output of uranium ore.

In Nairobi an official of the Belgian Consulate said that he did not think the Socialists' resolution would carry very much weight. Although the Socialists and Liberals formed the present coalition Government, the Liberals were resolutely opposed to any such move as proposed by the congress.

The largest party in the Belgian House of Representatives is the Catholic Party, but it has not an over-all majority. There are also a few Communists. (*East African Standard*, July 4, 1956.)

AMERICA & AFRICA

Call for More Active Policy

SENATOR M. Mansfield, a Democrat from Montana and a member of the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee, said that the United States is neglecting Africa while Russia is trying to "twist Africa's awakening into totalitarian channels . . . The growing aspirations of the African people for national and human equality and progress—three basic principles under which the United States itself has developed—must have the constant sympathy of this country," he said. That sympathy must be reflected more clearly than was at present the case in U.S. policies at the United Nations and elsewhere—even if it meant that America's policy was sometimes at variance with Western Europe's. (*South Africa*, June 23, 1956.)

Mrs. Frances Bolton, a Republican and a senior member of the House of Representatives Foreign Affairs Committee, in a report on her three-month study mission to twenty-four countries and territories in Africa, urged the United States to make it clear to the African that "we know his intense desire for freedom and sympathize with him." Her general recommendations included the belief that the U.S. should consider treaties of amity and commerce with the sovereign nations in Africa and should hold out the prospect to still dependent territories that when they gain their independence they, too, would be able to obtain U.S. aid. Referring to South Africa, Mrs. Bolton said it was filled with misunderstanding and

tragedy. The apartheid plan was an expression of the superiority of the White man. It had created a situation that is fraught with the deepest potentialities for trouble in the future. "The tragedy is that without the Bantu, the Union of South Africa cannot keep her place in the modern world, for her future advancement rests on his broad back." (*Pretoria News*, August 14, 1956.)

The American Committee on Africa, in a statement presented to the Platform Committee of the Democratic Party convention in Chicago, urged the U.S. government to establish "a positive and vigorous policy aimed at replenishing that fund of goodwill" toward America in Africa which was "once vast but now rapidly dwindling." The statement said that it would appear that a tacit agreement exists between the U.S. on the one hand and the European colonial-power allies on the other, that the U.S. will not interfere in their handling of native populations in return for the privilege of establishment of strategic bases and the free flow of strategic minerals. That this policy is the best way to prevent the spread of Communism in colonial areas seems to be a keystone in our present African policy, mistaken though history has proved this to be. "While giving credit to administering powers where it is due, we should proclaim unequivocally the adherence of the U.S. to the cause of freedom and independence at the earliest practicable moment for all of the subject people of Africa". The U.S. should encourage the re-establishment of the U.N. Commission on the Racial Situation in the Union of South Africa, and press for "target dates" for self-government for U.N. trust territories.

Newspapers Attack Apartheid

In an editorial entitled "South African Madness", the *New York Times* (August 27, 1956) attacked the implementation of the Group Areas plan in Johannesburg. It said: "That such a racist policy should be carried out in the year 1956 is a terrible anachronism of the most obvious sort . . . The South African effort to impose a new variety of White supremacy, and a new era of segregation, appears like an effort to turn back the clock of history—an effort which must fail . . . The policy of enforced segregation is not only political and economic madness, but may well be the sowing of a future whirlwind whose consequences tomorrow may be dire indeed."

On the same day the *Washington Post* said that the free nations of the world could not long endure South Africa's policy of apartheid. The Whites of S. Africa seemed determined to stave off integration until it came in an inevitable blood bath. "It is perhaps one of the world's greatest tragedies, being played out to an end that the actors no less than the audience know must come," the *Post* added. "Is there no voice of moderation that can lead South Africa to a rational solution of its awful problem?"

The *Boston Globe* (August 28, 1956) said that Strijdom's master race policy appeared to be heading the country into a crisis. "No wonder protests from more responsible elements of Johannesburg are growing in volume. Warnings issued months ago that the application of Strijdom's programme to enforce segregation would entail disastrous consequences to South Africa's economy and endanger social peace have apparently fallen on deaf ears. Fanaticism is hard of hearing. The impact of this outrage upon an awakening Africa and Asia will be serious."

COLONIAL AND COMMONWEALTH MATTERS

H.R.H. The Duke of Edinburgh's Conference¹

IN his opening address to the 300 participants from all parts of the Commonwealth, the Duke of Edinburgh described the four basic ideas behind the conference. They had first to decide whether there were any lessons from the past which could help overcome the problems of present industrialization. The second question was whether the new industries of the Commonwealth could help each other. The Commonwealth countries were a long way apart, and some might be more successful than others, or have interesting ideas which had been tried and found unsuccessful elsewhere. Thirdly, he hoped the conference would form some conclusions about what things made for a good works, a happy community, and a satisfied individual. For his final point the Duke of Edinburgh referred to the "bewildering variety of shapes assumed by the simplest industrial problem when it was viewed from the different standpoints of the board room, shop floor, research, production and personnel departments or trade union." Members and speakers at the conference had been chosen, he said, in such a way that all these points of view would be put forward. (*The Times*, July 10, 1956.)

During the conference a number of papers were presented on African topics. These included: "Africans in Industrial Towns in Northern Rhodesia", by Professor J. Clyde Mitchell, Professor of African Studies, University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, which emphasized the changing and diminishing significance of tribalism and kinship for Africans in industrial and urbanized areas; "The Stabilization of Labour in the Rhodesian Copperbelt", by Sir Ronald Prain, Chairman and President of the Rhodesian Selection Trust Group of Companies²; and "Industrial Relations in a Multi-Racial Society" in which Mr. H. F. Oppenheimer, M.P. for Kimberley said: "The idea of solving our racial problems by unscrambling the multiracial-society that has already been built is nothing but a dream, beautiful or ugly depending on your taste, but in any case entirely unsuitable as a basis for action."

Mr. Arthur Gaitskell, lately Chairman and Managing Director, Sudan Gezira Board, spoke on "Planned Regional Development in Underdeveloped Countries; Reflections from Experience in the Gezira Scheme in the Sudan." He stressed the value and the problems of a combination of State and private capital, and also the importance and difficulty of securing local participation.

"Incentives in East Africa", by W. Elkan, Senior Research Fellow, East African Institute of Social Research, showed how a short-term migratory labour force increases the force of a cash incentive, but lessens the effectiveness of other forms.

"The West African Miner", by the Hon. Siaka Stevens, Minister for Labour, Lands and Mines in Sierra Leone, gave an account of the history, working conditions and aspirations of some of the mining community in the Gold Coast and Sierra Leone.

¹Digest III, 3.

²See page 60

Speaking on "Problems of Training for Industrialization in the Gold Coast", Mr. J. A. Hamilton (Department of Social Welfare and Community Development) quoted extensively from experience gained in East Africa with regard to the need for training of both Africans and Europeans.

More general papers which had a direct application to African problems included: "Some Economic and Social Problems of Transition to an Industrial Economy", by Professor W. A. Lewis, Professor of Political Economy, University of Manchester, which dealt with five points: changes in land tenure, working for wages, urbanization, saving and investment, competition, growth of population and increase in taxation and government activity, and "The Use of Science in Underdeveloped Countries", by Dr. E. B. Worthington, lately Secretary General of the Scientific Council for Africa south of the Sahara, and "Work and Community in a Primitive Society", by Professor R. Firth, Professor of Anthropology, University of London.

Mr. Gaitskell on Colonialism

Mr. Hugh Gaitskell, Leader of the Opposition, speaking in the House of Commons, said: "The new Soviet offensive in Asia and Africa involves a struggle for men's minds and hearts, particularly in the uncommitted areas of the world. The question is what we and the other democracies are to do to meet that challenge. Although one would not suppose that countries which have either just won their independence or are hoping to win it soon would be attracted by a totalitarian régime, or would fancy enjoying the same experience as the satellite countries of Eastern Europe, there are very substantial attractions in the uncommitted areas towards Russian Communism. There are I think, five reasons.

"First Russia has not been a Colonial Power in the ordinary sense of the word, though she dominates eastern Europe and has overrun those territories—and if one liked, one could describe that as an empire. Secondly, Russia is only half a Western Power, and that is an advantage in some of these places. Thirdly, she is still thought to be poor. Fourthly, there is no colour discrimination inside Soviet Russia. Finally, she is carrying through industrialization at an extremely rapid rate by State action. These reasons make Russian Communism so attractive to these underdeveloped peoples.

"We must, if we are to hold these people for democracy, remove from our policy, our administration, and our activities every possible taint of colonialism. This means carrying on, as I readily concede the Government are carrying on, the progress towards self-government in West Africa, Malaya, and the West Indies. But two sore points are a great handicap to us in this enormously important struggle. First, the need for racial equality in Africa particularly. We say that the British Government should end all colour bars at once. Secondly, we must accept as the ultimate principle, recognizing the transitional difficulties, the idea of one man one vote. What happens in South Africa, in East Africa, and in North America as well, influences hundreds of millions of people all over Asia and in other parts of Africa. It has world-wide implications.

Labour Party Policy on Plural Societies

The Labour Party published the first of a series of pamphlets on colonial policy. It deals with "plural" or "multi-racial" societies, and, in Africa, covers East and Central Africa. The

common electoral roll is described as the vital test of political democracy in the plural society; the first immediate aim is parity of franchise and representation. Transitional arrangements may be necessary, but "Europeans and Asians must be prepared ultimately to accept unqualified African equality as the only permanent basis of democracy." The Labour Party is against all forms of colour discrimination and believes that the education departments in all the colonies mentioned should immediately accept the principle that education at all levels should be inter-racial.

The pamphlet, which will be submitted by the National Executive to the party conference in October, was prepared by a working party consisting of Mr. Tom Driberg (chairman), Mrs. Barbara Castle, Mr. Creech Jones, Dr. Rita Hinden and Mr. Fenner Brockway.

International Trade Union Activity in Africa

Describing the work of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions in relation to African problems, the *Free Labour World* (official journal of the I.C.F.T.U.) said: "Taking first the question of everyday demands, mention must be made of the effective support constantly given by the I.C.F.T.U. and its representatives to the organizations affiliated to it to help them to push their claims successfully. The strike of the copper miners in Northern Rhodesia is still fresh in memory, to which the I.C.F.T.U., its affiliated organizations and the Miners' International Federation gave every possible assistance.

"Since its inception the I.C.F.T.U. has never ceased to promote understanding and contact between the various free trade union movements of that continent. It has done this through repeated visits by delegates to the different countries, and through opening information and advisory centres (as at Accra and Nairobi) as well as through organizing trade union training seminars (as at Tunis and Accra) . . . The I.C.F.T.U. has continuously demanded that the United Nations should set up an Economic Commission for Africa, such as already exists for Latin America, Europe, Asia and the Far East . . . Similarly the I.C.F.T.U. is demanding that a regional office of the International Labour Office should be opened for Africa. Now that the trade union movements of Africa are aware of the leading rôle they will be called upon to play in the general development of their individual countries and of Africa as a whole, it is desirable that all the democratic trade union forces of that continent meet together and discuss their common problems. The I.C.F.T.U. hopes to provide them with this opportunity and intends shortly to hold a trade union conference for Africa."

The view of the British Trade Union Congress on the development of African Unions is expressed in the spring issue of *What the T.U.C. is Doing*, which said: "We have never taken the view that African unions should develop along the British model and have always recognized that development must be in the light of circumstances in each country. At the same time we defended the right of workers in East Africa to organize themselves into *bona-fide* trade unions instead of 'house unions' and stressed that low wages and poor conditions would persist in East Africa until the workers were organized. Our recent decision to expand the work of our Colonial section is a sign on our part that we have confidence in the future of colonial trade unionism and expresses our determination to help it to ma-

turity in that spirit of co-operation which is the foundation of our Movement."

United Kingdom Aid to the Commonwealth

The Times (July 7, 1956) drew attention to one particular sentence in the communiqué issued after the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' conference in London, and said: "It is entirely to be welcomed, though no one need imagine that the promise can be fulfilled without effort and sacrifice. 'The Prime Ministers,' it is said, 'noted with satisfaction the United Kingdom's determination to maintain and improve its capacity to serve as a source of capital for development in Commonwealth countries.' Here, one must assume is the unfolding of a deliberate policy that could help enormously in the growth and wealth of Commonwealth countries and could also help in preserving their unity. The needs are obvious. Both Indian and Pakistan have embarked on bold plans to raise their peoples' standard of life and industrial strength. If they are to remain independent they can do no less, yet they need capital. Other countries within the Commonwealth and Empire cry out for similar development. If Britain is to remain the linch-pin of the Commonwealth system and keep the sterling block as a fruitful trading area, much of the capital must come from her. It is good that the Government should have recognized the opportunity and the obligations so clearly. What now remains is the harder task of fulfilment."

Bill to Ban Racial Discrimination

Mr. Fenner Brockway (Labour) recently introduced a Bill into Parliament which, if passed would have the effect of making discrimination to the detriment of any person on grounds of colour illegal. Introducing the bill, Mr. Brockway said that broadly speaking the British people recognized that identity as human beings was greater than differences of race, colour or religion, but a minority was causing ill will with serious effects. This not only endangered the feelings of coloured people in this country towards the British people, but might have dangerous effects internationally.

In seeking to establish the rights of coloured peoples, they must not invade the personal rights of our own citizens, such as that of the private landlady to refuse lodgings to a coloured person. That landlady should have the right to decide who should enter her home as a lodger. But legislation was justified and necessary in the case of places where licences were obtained from public bodies. The bill would make discrimination illegal in inns, hotels, common lodging houses, restaurants, cafés, dance halls, and other places of public entertainment. The bill would also operate in the case of leases covering houses, flats, and other premises. Any covenant or provision would be illegal in such leases on the ground of discrimination. It would also be illegal for an employer of more than fifty persons to refuse employment to a coloured person on grounds of race or religion. Mr. Brockway urged that "a legal declaration by this House against discrimination is necessary. Recognition that all persons are born equal in rights and dignity—whatever their race, colour or religion—is a fundamental condition of social justice, liberty and peace."

Thoughts on African Nationalism

East Africa and Rhodesia (August 23, 1956) published the

comments of an anonymous "very experienced African Administrator" on Nationalism, who said: "The mainspring of African nationalism derives from two human instincts which are common to all social groups: (1) to possess, to feel 'at home' in a particular environment, and (2) to reject what is alien, especially in respect of social and cultural patterns. (Could the rising tide of nationalism in Ireland have been checked, I wonder, by the advancement of Irishmen as such in commercial and industrial establishments?)

"African nationalists are attracted to the Hammer and Sickle in the belief that the Soviet system has demonstrated a successful technique whereby a backward people may by its own volition and without alien intervention construct a strong internal economy and become a viable state. The fact that this Russian technique entails the adoption of dictatorial methods and measures of mass compulsion is not repellent to sophisticated African leaders in so far as they recognize that, without the employment of such means, it will be difficult, and perhaps impossible, to secure the acquiescence in progressive reforms by simple, conservative, and generally apathetic African populations.

"Many African leaders admit the virtue of the democratic system as providing a popular sanction (other than by assassination or armed revolt!) against the excessive abuse of power, but they are doubtful whether Western practices of democracy can be made to function satisfactorily in present African conditions.

"Our indiscriminate use of the label 'Communist' is deplorable and confusing to our counter-propaganda against subtle Sovietic legends of the might of modern Russia and 'Communist' insistence on the social and political brotherhood of man. We should remember that to such weak States as Egypt dependence on a single 'big brother' amongst the Great Powers seems inexpedient; and to see two or more such Powers jockeying for the position flatters their *amour propre*, and, they believe, provides a firmer stance for their diplomacy (or blackmail).

"Unless in multi-racial societies African leaders are given an adequate interest in the *status quo* we shall not be able to rely on their co-operation."

TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

U.N. Proposals and Progress

THE Secretary-General, Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld, has welcomed the possibility of establishing a civil service of United Nations' experts specially qualified for work in the less developed areas of the world. He has also envisaged the possible creation of a new United Nations agency for world economic development.

Addressing the International Law Association at McGill University, Montreal, he declared: "The capacity of a country to absorb large-scale economic assistance or to make the best use of its domestic resources is in no small measure determined by its administrative arrangements. It is significant, for example, that in every one of the reports of the economic survey missions sent out by the United Nations and the International Bank, some reference has been made to the handicap imposed

by poorly developed public administration and the shortage of competent officials." Pointing out that this implied "no disparagement of any of the countries concerned", he noted that "most of these countries have had only a short period to replace the arrangements of the former administering power with their own organization, and to create a public service at once efficient and responsive to their will . . ." The Secretary-General acknowledged that "in the long run" new nations would doubtless be able to meet their own needs with national training programmes for administrative officials. "But," he said, "the long run may be very long and the need is urgent. It is for this reason that I welcome the suggestion of the Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Pearson, that we should consider establishing what he describes as 'an international professional and technical civil service of the United Nations with experts specially trained for work in the under-developed area.' . . . This far-reaching proposal," Mr. Hammarskjöld continued, "stands, I feel, side by side in importance with the proposal recently made by the French Foreign Minister, M. Pineau, who has called for the establishment of a new United Nations agency for world economic development." (*United Nations News*, June 5, 1956.)

General support for the long-standing proposal to establish a Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development (SUNFED)¹ is indicated in the replies of forty-six governments to an eight-point questionnaire circulated by Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld to all Members of the U.N. and its specialized agencies. Estimates regarding the initial amount needed to set up the Fund range from approximately \$200 million to \$250 million. In its report, the committee says the replies show that "there is support for the proposal to establish a Special Fund." It adds that from "the most frequently indicated views" the following "general pattern" for the Fund emerges:

(a) As originally proposed, the Fund would give assistance to less-developed countries in the form of both grants and loans, especially long-term, low-interest loans;

(b) the financing it would provide would be especially for "infrastructures", i.e. basic facilities needed for effective production, such as a minimum amount of roads, power stations, schools, hospitals, housing and government buildings. The report notes, however, that many replies also mentioned broader development programmes, including projects in the fields of industry and agriculture;

(c) the Fund would be established and maintained by voluntary contributions, renewable annually, or at other intervals;

(d) contributions would be made in local currency, convertible into other currencies only to the extent permitted by the governments concerned;

(e) the Fund would be an autonomous body, operating independently within the framework of the United Nations, and co-operating closely with the appropriate U.N. organs and agencies;

(f) the general structure of the proposed new body would comprise an all-member General Council, an Executive Board, a Director-General, a staff which should be kept as small as possible, and a Joint Committee composed of the U.N. Secretary-General, the President of the International Bank and the Director-General of the Fund. The report shows, however, that there was some disagreement about the establishment of a

¹Digest III, 7.

Joint Committee. Seven governments did not favour the proposal. (*United Nations News*, June 13, 1956.)

The *Manchester Guardian* (June 11, 1956) commenting on the progress made by the Technical Assistance Board of the United Nations, said it was settling down to a useful job, but is still a long way off realizing the high hopes raised when Mr. Truman launched his "Point Four" programme. The editorial recognized the achievements—the number of fellowships to students from under-developed countries have doubled; some training establishments have been set up, and survey teams and planning missions laid on. "But its budget has still less than £10 millions a year to dispose of, which spread over more than a hundred countries is pitifully small. Almost as bad as the cheeseparing attitude of most of the contributing nations is their insistence in doling funds out year by year . . . As Dr. Keenleyside, the director-general, pointed out last year, Britain's contribution to this amounts to the cost of two cigarettes each a year. The Soviet Government plainly regards technical assistance as one of the most rewarding forms of aid, both politically and economically. If only as a matter of self-interest we should treat this work more seriously."

More Personal Aid

In a letter to *The Times* (July 25, 1956) Mr. A. G. Dickson wrote: "A small group of Swiss technologists, with first-hand experience of work in tropical countries, have prevailed upon their Government to consider the initiation of a Swiss programme of technical assistance that will differ, in four important respects, from the approach of the immeasurably vaster programmes of the United Nations Agencies and of Point Four.

1. In contrast to the aid given invariably to Government programmes under United Nations technical assistance, the Swiss plan to help voluntary schemes and efforts initiated by small independent groups, believing that such help may lead to results of greater promise.

2. Whilst experts assigned under schemes of international assistance frequently operate at the level of Ministerial advisers or as directors of project, the Swiss feel that work at a somewhat lower level, in more personal contact with the local people, may eventually be more rewarding.

3. Whereas professional status and technical expertise have been the principal criteria in selecting staff for United Nations technical assistance posts, the Swiss propose to give to individual character and attitude as great or even greater consideration, believing that personal example may be of even more significance in the long run.

4. Much younger men (and women) will be chosen—and paid salaries far below those offered by the United Nations Agencies, since the Swiss hold that advanced age and high pay tend to prevent that contact which they hope to realize, and because they are confident that there are young doctors and engineers who will respond to calls for service under those conditions.

In their awareness that professional skill is not enough and that a sense of mission is essential if programmes of technical assistance are to achieve their objects, the Swiss responsible for this initiative have an identity of view with those in this country who have organized the overseas service scheme. Their enterprise may succeed where larger schemes have failed."

Sir Jeremy Raisman writing to *The Times* (August 17, 1956) said: "Many people, both in the more prosperous countries of

the West and the under-developed countries, have come to regard financial help by the former to develop resources in the latter as one of the most important objectives of policy for the next few decades. Much has been done already. There has been public and private investment including United Kingdom investment on a scale much larger than is often supposed. Many institutions, such as the World Bank, the International Finance Corporation and Colonial Development Corporation, have been created by public or private initiative, and have had the full support of Governments.

"The Governments in under-developed countries have quite naturally put plans for economic development in the forefront of their programmes. All these plans depend to a smaller or larger extent on foreign investment. But plans for lending and for borrowing depend in turn for their fulfilment on confidence. How can they proceed once confidence is broken? Those of us who are more concerned with financial and economic matters than with politics are profoundly disturbed by the possible effects in these fields of Colonel Nasser's action. Unless high-handed expropriation of foreign-owned assets is firmly and effectively condemned by world-wide opinion, the longer-term risks to all these development plans are very great indeed.

"To many of us in this country who have very much at heart the prosperity and development plans of Asia and Africa, it is difficult to see how their interests (and the west's common interests with them) can be served by encouragement or condonation of actions such as Colonel Nasser's."

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HIGH COMMISSION TERRITORIES

BECHUANALAND

Seretse Khama to return and Political Freedom also granted to Tshekedi Khama

STATEMENTS simultaneously made in London and in the Bechuanaland Protectorate on September 26 announced the British Government's decision on the return of Seretse Khama. The *Daily Telegraph* reported that "the Earl of Home, Secretary for Commonwealth Relations, had at their request received both Seretse and his uncle, Tshekedi Khama. Tshekedi was on a visit to England from Bechuanaland.

"Seretse and his uncle handed to Lord Home 'a document signed by both in which Seretse Khama formally renounced for himself and his children all claim to the chieftainship of the Bamangwato tribe, and Tshekedi Khama, who had previously renounced for himself and his children all claim to the chieftainship, re-affirmed his renunciation.

"Both expressed the hope that Seretse would be allowed to return to the Bamangwato as a private person and that both he and Tshekedi would be permitted to take part in the political life of the tribe. Each undertook to co-operate fully with Rasebolai Kgamane, the African Authority appointed by the High Commissioner.

"In these circumstances the Government has decided that Seretse Khama should be permitted to return to the protectorate as a private person and to take his family with him.' The tribe would be informed of Seretse's renunciation and of the Government's decision.

"The Government has accepted the assurances of co-operation. It has agreed that both Seretse and Tshekedi should, on Seretse's return be free to play their part in the affairs of the Bamangwato. A Tribal Council of an advisory nature is to be established, with Rasebolai Kgamane as chairman.

"Both Seretse and Tshekedi have declared that they are in full agreement with the creation of a council 'and will lend their full support to Rasebolai in his capacity as chairman'. The statement concluded:

"It is the earnest hope of the Government that this settlement will enable the Bamangwato to forget their differences and to unite in working for the progress and well-being of the tribe and the whole of Bechuanaland'."

The Resident Commissioner in the Protectorate, Mr. Martin Wray made the statement to Rasebolai Kgamane, the African authority who exercises rule over the Bamangwato tribe in the absence of the elected chief, and members of the tribe at a *Kgotla* (tribal gathering)

held at Serowe. The Commissioner said that he expected that Seretse would be there in a few weeks' time and arrangements would be made for him to meet the people in the Bamangwato reserve, so that they could hear from his own lips his renunciation of all claim to the chieftainship. The Commissioner also told the *Kgotla* that it was the duty of them all to work together peacefully to improve conditions in the country, and to make sure that the disputes of the past did not occur again.

The Times (September 27, 1956) added that the South African Government was not consulted on the matter nor was it expected that it would be, although it can be taken for granted that it was made aware of the decision through the usual channels.

In an interview with the *Daily Telegraph* Seretse said: "I am very happy now that I know I can go to my homeland and live with my people. I have been longing for the day when I can return to the tribe."

Asked if he was reconciled with his uncle, he said: "We have always been good friends, but we had our political differences. My uncle came over to England in July and we talked over the position. We decided to sink these differences for the sake of getting a settlement and in the interests of the progress and development of the reserve. I am hopeful for the future."

Tshekedi Khama who had been in Britain since July 20, returned to Cape Town on September 27.

The decision was welcomed by all sections of political opinion in Britain, and *The Times* paid tribute to both Tshekedi and Seretse who had "been loyal to their principles and their tribe through the long controversy, and deserve every good wish for their future careers." It also spoke of Mrs. Khama's modest dignity through the years of exile.

Unfortunately, the secrecy which preceded the announcement on September 26 was broken and a number of conflicting and inaccurate reports were published in London on September 25.

In a letter to the Editor of *The Times* (September 28, 1956) the Rev. Michael Scott, Honorary Director of the Africa Bureau said: "Influential members of the Conservative, Labour, and Liberal parties were among those most intimately concerned with the agreement regarding the Bamangwato. All were pledged to strictest secrecy when the agreement was reached several weeks ago

until after the announcement due to be made in kgotla in Bechuanaland on September 26. This was agreed, not only out of courtesy to the African people but also to ensure that the statement was made by the Government representative to the tribal assembly, thus giving the people the fullest possible opportunity of understanding the agreement which had been reached.

"It was felt that any other course might give rise to misunderstandings in Bechuanaland and possibly cause serious repercussions. It is therefore regrettable that news of this agreement was given to the Press in London two days before it was due to be announced, apparently for the purpose of gaining some party political credit for the righting of a wrong perpetrated by the Government in power eight years ago.

"It is only fair to the principals concerned—to Seretse and Tshekedi Khama—to point out that the initiative in reaching this agreement was their own, and that Tshe-

kedi Khama came to this country before the debate on the subject took place in the House of Commons, and that he did not come here as the result of any pressure exerted on him by any political party. Tshekedi Khama has, in fact, advocated an agreement such as that which has been reached ever since his own and Seretse's banishment. The fact that this has now been reached is due as much to the efforts of those Liberal and Conservative M.P.s who have interested themselves in the matter as to anyone else. There were also Labour members who were deeply conscious of the wrong that was originally done when their party was in power.

"But principally the settlement has been brought about by the good sense and restraint of Seretse and Tshekedi Khama themselves. It would be a pity if this case were not put on record as an example of an achievement made possible in Africa in spite of party political differences here."

AFRICA BUREAU ACTIVITIES

THE Annual General Meeting of the Africa Bureau took place at Church House on July 24. The Anniversary Address was given by Mr. Tshekedi Khama, an Honorary President of the Bureau, who spoke on "The Task of the Development of Representative Forms of Government in a Changing African Society." His paper will be published shortly as an Africa Bureau pamphlet. The Annual Report for 1955-56 was adopted, and copies are available on request to the Africa Bureau.

Policy for Kenya (reproduced in full in these columns) was published on July 28, and was referred to in *The Times*, and in a number of weekly papers. Organizations represented at the Bureau's Kenya Conference have been invited to comment on this statement.

The Director wrote to the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations on the subject of any change which may be made in the constitutional relationship between Central Africa and the United Kingdom. He expressed the concern which is felt by Africans as a result of Lord Malvern's statements in the Federal Assembly, referred to in these columns.

Representations have been made to the Colonial Secretary about the methods used in the removal of Africans from the areas in Northern Rhodesia to be flooded under the Kariba Hydro-Electric Scheme.

Attention has once more been focused upon Bechuanaland, and on the restrictions which, during the past seven years, have been placed on Seretse and Tshekedi Khama. A letter from the Rev. Michael Scott was published in the *New Statesman* (August 25) in which he commented on "the unfair implication" of remarks in an earlier issue of the paper which had seemed to suggest that Tshekedi Khama had been slow in "taking the initiative or had even obstructed a settlement" of the "Bechuanaland controversy." Mr. Scott said: "throughout the controversy Tshekedi has shown quite extraordinary patience and statesmanship in an attempt to compose the question.

Had his plea for the establishment of a Legislative Council of some representative body capable of articulating the wishes of the people been heeded . . . this question would long ago have been settled by proper constitutional means."

An article entitled "Colour and Conscience" in which Mr. A. Creech Jones, M.P. and the Rev. Michael Scott expressed their views on race discrimination and the rights of colonial peoples, was published in *Socialist Commentary* (August 1956).

Father Trevor Huddleston, C.R. has received an Honorary Doctorate of Divinity at Aberdeen University.

We wish to draw your attention to the new rates of subscription given on page 77. We regret the necessity for these increases but we are sure you will appreciate that they have to be made in view of increased printing and production costs.

We heard with great regret of the death of Miss Mary Attlee, on September 6. Miss Attlee, who was a missionary in South Africa for nearly forty years, was an Hon. President of the Africa Bureau since it was founded in 1952, and kept in touch with our work, always giving great encouragement. Despite failing health, Miss Attlee made a point of showing her support, and regularly attending our meetings.

St. Faith's Farm in Southern Rhodesia has sustained a great loss through the death of Cedric Wildman, who, at the age of 23, went to work there in 1951. He was in charge of livestock and played a vital part in the establishment of the inter-racial project on the farm. All who knew of his work either through personal contact or through their support of the African Development Trust, will wish to express their sympathy with his family. He was drowned while bathing on holiday in Nyasaland. Memorial Services were held in the S.P.G. Chapel and at the Friends' International Centre in London.

The Editor of the DIGEST does not necessarily endorse the views of correspondents.

